HISTORY OF SWEDEN

CARL HALLENDORFF
ADOLF SCHÜCK

The Library of

Crosby Hall

Presented by

Miss W. Leffler

948.5
MAL
Item 554

From
Louis W. Leffler.

KA 0376285 8

Carl Hallendorff and Adolf Schück

HISTORY OF SWEDEN

The oldest Swedish Seal of State from the time of Engelbrekt's War of Independence (1435). St. Eric, the Patron Saint of Sweden, is pictured carrying the Swedish emblem »Three Crowns».

HISTORY OF SWEDEN

by

CARL HALLENDORFF
Professor in the University of Stockholm.

and

ADOLF SCHÜCK
Lecturer in History in the University
of Stockholm.

C. E. FRITZE Ltd
Booksellers to the Court
Stockholm

Translated from the Swedish Manuscript
by Mrs. Lajla Yapp

948.5
654

First Published 1929
Copyright
C. E. FRITZE
Sweden

CONTENTS.

Page

Preface by His Excellency Baron E. Palmstierna, Swedish Minister to the Court of St. James XVII
Note by the Translator XXIII

The Early History of Sweden.

Prehistoric Sweden 1
The ice age 2
The stone age 3
The bronze age 5
The pre-Roman iron age 7
The Roman iron age 7
The eldest known Swedish tribes 8
The age of Folk-wanderings 9
The origin of the Swedish kingdom 11

The Viking age 14
Causes of the Viking raids 14
Expeditions to the West 16
Swedish expansion towards the East and foundation of the Russian state 17
Eastern trade of the Swedes 18
Reminiscences of Swedish expeditions in the East 21
Swedish political history 22
Naval and military power and the monarchy 23
The heathen cult 25
Christian mission 26

The Early Middle Ages.

Main periods of the middle ages 31
Political history of the early middle ages 32
St. Eric 33
The office of *Jarl* and the Folkung family 34
Election of kings 35
Political and judicial organization 36
The oldest laws 37
Royal domains and taxes 39
Swedish expansion in Finland 39

Contents

Page

The early Swedish Church 41
The class of freemen or peasant proprietors 44
Swedish trade 45
Ascendancy of Visby 46

The Folkung Age.

Characteristics of the Folkung Age 48
National legislation of *Jarl* Birger 49
Trade with North-German cities 50
Foundation of Stockholm 51
Reign of Valdemar and struggles with his younger brothers 51
Domestic policy of Magnus Ladulås 52
Origin of the Council and reform of the nobility 53
Economic policy of Magnus 54
Rule of Torgils Knutsson 55
Struggle between King Birger and the dukes 56
Election and minority of Magnus Ericsson 60
Acquisition of Skåne 62
Swedish relations with Denmark 63
Personality of Magnus Ericsson and his legislative activities 64
St. Birgitta 66
Opposition of the nobility to the king 68
Loss of Skåne and Gottland 69
Fall of Magnus Ericsson 70
The Mecklenburg régime 71
Bo Jonsson Grip and the dominance of the Council 72
Fall of Albert 73

The Age of Union.

Personality of Queen Margaret 74
War against Albert's supporters 75
Union of Kalmar 76
Swedish policy of Margaret 77
The united Scandinavian realm 78
Eric of Pomerania and his government 79
Engelbrekt and the war of independence 81
The origin of the Swedish *Riksdag* 83
Engelbrekt's death and achievement 84
Dethronement of Eric of Pomerania 86
Domestic struggles in Sweden 86
Election of Christopher of Bavaria and reestablishment of the union (on different lines) 87

Page

Karl Knutsson king of Sweden 88
Union between Sweden and Norway 89
Rebellion of the unionist aristocracy and invitation to Christian I of Denmark 90
Struggle for the Swedish crown between Karl Knutsson and Christian I 90
Personality of Karl Knutsson 94
Characteristics of the Sture age 95
Victory of Sten Sture the elder over the Danes at Brunkeberg 96
Foundation of Uppsala University 97
Relations between Sweden and Denmark 98
Rebellion against Sten Sture the elder and election of King John 99
Restoration of Swedish independence 101
Regency of Svante Nilsson 101
Sten Sture the younger elected regent 103
Conflict between the regent and the unionist party 104
Christian II's conquest of Sweden 105
Massacre of Stockholm 107

War of Independence and Reestablishment of the National Kingship.

Gustavus Vasa, his parentage and early history 110
Organization and outbreak of the war of independence .. 111
Alliance with the Hanseatic cities 113
Danish rebellion against Christian II 115
Gustavus Vasa elected king of Sweden 115
Trade privileges of the Hansa 116
Occupation of Stockholm 117

Gustavus Vasa and His Age.
1521—1560.

Sweden in the sixteenth century 119
Boundaries of Swedish territory 121
Relations to neighbouring states 122
Distribution of the population 123
Scope of the king's power 125
The Aristocracy 126
The Church 127

Contents

Page

The Reformation 127
Swedish relations to Rome 128
Luther's Reformation 129
Olaus Petri 130
Events leading up to the Swedish Reformation 131
Riksdag of Västerås, 1527 133
Decisions at Västerås 137
Reorganization of the Swedish Church 138

Internal and external dangers 140
Revolts in Dalarna and Västergötland 140
Foreigners as officers of the king 142
Return of Christian II 143
Lübeck and »The Count's War» 144

Internal government of Gustavus Vasa 147
Gustavus and his family 147
Gustavus as administrator 148
Religious affairs 151
Break with the Reformers 153
The »Dacke War» 155
Organization of defence 155

Close of Gustavus' reign 156
His personality and achievement 156
Succession to the crown 157
Gustavus and his sons 161
Verdict of posterity 161

The Younger Vasas.
1560—1600.

The accession of Eric XIV 164
The will of Gustavus Vasa 164
His sons Eric, John and Charles 165
Eric XIV in opposition to the dukes 166
Eric's matrimonial projects 167

The Baltic policy and the Northern Seven Years War 168
Frederick II of Denmark 168
Dissolution of the Baltic state, Reval seeks Swedish protection 168
John's marriage to a Polish princess, and his break with Eric 169
Offensive alliance of Denmark 170
Eric XIV and Ivan IV 170
The Northern Seven Years War 171

Page

Downfall of Eric XIV 174
Mental instability of Eric; George *(Göran)* Persson.. 174
Suspicions of the great nobles 175
The Sture murders 176
Eric's marriage; rebellion against him 177
Deposition and death of Eric. His character and ability 178

Liturgic struggle 179
End of the Northern Seven Years War 180
Theological interest of John III 181
Catholic reaction, Protestant controversy 182
Syncretism of John, his Liturgy 183
John and Rome 184
Opposition to John's attempts to reform 185

John III, Duke Charles, and the nobility 188
John's relations to Duke Charles and the nobility.. 188
Privileges conceded to the nobility, countdoms and baronies 188
Break between John and Charles 190
Sigismund king of Poland 191
Meeting in Reval. John and his councillors 192
Death of John 193

Assembly of Uppsala, 1593 193
Duke Charles 193
Joint regency of the duke and the Council 194
Danger of Catholic aggression 195
Assembly of Uppsala 196
Decision of Uppsala sanctioned in the provinces.. 197

Sigismund and Duke Charles 198
Return and Coronation of Sigismund 198
Sigismund breaks his pledge 199
Riksdag of Söderköping 200
Break between the duke and the councillors 201
Reactionary schemes of Sigismund 202
Attack against Charles 203
Deposition of Sigismund 204
»Bloodshed of Linköping» 205

The Rise of the Baltic Empire.
1600—1660.

Charles IX 207
Accession of Charles IX. Protestant zeal 207

Page

War in Livonia ... 209
Sweden and Poland during the Russian upheaval ... 209
Peace treaty of Stolbova ... 211
Attack of Christian IV ... 212
The Kalmar war ... 213
Death of Charles IX ... 213
Peace of Knäred ... 214

Gustavus Adolphus and his *entourage* ... 215
Gustavus and his family ... 215
Relations between the king and the nobility ... 217
Axel Oxenstjerna ... 217
Other remarkable noblemen ... 219

Rule of Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna ... 220
Accession and oath of Gustavus ... 220
Administrative reform ... 222
Privileges and statutes of the nobility ... 223
Landed property of the nobility ... 225
Education ... 226
Messenius ... 226
Economic reform ... 227
The cities ... 228
Iron industry ... 228
Walloon immigration ... 228
Colonizing efforts ... 229
Democratic self-government ... 230
Organization and influence of the *Riksdag* ... 231
Determined policy of the country ... 234

German religious war. Sweden and Poland ... 234
Sweden's relations to her neighbours about 1620 ... 234
Outbreak of the Thirty Years War ... 235
Reaction on Scandinavia ... 236
Renewed hostilities against Poland ... 236
Proposals of James I to Denmark and Sweden ... 237
Prussian campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus ... 238
Increase of Swedish military efficiency ... 238
Treaty of Altmark ... 239
Imperial supremacy in Germany ... 240
Schemes of Wallenstein, the danger to Sweden ... 241
Gustavus Adolphus decides to interfere in German affairs ... 242

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany ... 244
Situation at the time of his landing in Pomerania ... 244

Page

Operations in 1631, the battle of Breitenfeld 246
Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein, the battle of Lützen 247
Last plans of Gustavus Adolphus 249

Continuation and end of the war 250
Organization of government after the death of Gustavus Adolphus 250
Position of Axel Oxenstjerna 251
Battle of Nördlingen 253
Altered character of the war 253
Banér as commander-in-chief 254
Danish policy 255
War of Torstensson 256
Peace of Brömsebro 256
Peace of Vestphalia 256

Charles X and his wars with Denmark and Poland 257
Swedish post-war foreign policy 257
Tendencies to further war 259
Disintegration of Poland 259
Attack of Denmark 261
Crossing the Belts 262
Peace of Roeskilde 263
Charles's second attack on Denmark 263
His death 264
The final peace 264

Consequences of the wars 265
Sweden preparatory to the long period of war 265
Increased power of the Council 266
Christina 267
Charles X, dislocation of government finance 268
Social evils 271
Economic reform 272
Glory and weakness of the nobility 273

The Climax and Fall of the Baltic Empire. 1660—1718.

Swedish reconstruction during the reign of Charles XI 276
Will of Charles X 276
The new regency, its weakness and policy of vacillation 277

Page

Outbreak of war in 1675 279
Charles XI interferes; treaties of peace 280
The absolute monarchy 281
The State resumes ownership of alienated crown domains 282
Economic ruin of the landowning ancient nobility .. 283
The new nobility 284
Reform of administration. Military and naval reform 285
Discontent with the king's methods, Patkul 286
Charles XI and Gyllenstjerna's Danish policy 287
West-European wars, Scandinavian neutrality 288
Position at the time of Charles XI's death 289

Charles XII and Augustus of Saxony 290
Education of Charles XII, his accession to the throne 291
Policy of Charles XI, continued 292
Augustus of Saxony 293
Peter the Great 294
Coalition against Sweden 295
Battle of Narva 296
Polish wars of Charles XII 297
Peace of Altranstädt 298

Charles XII and Tsar Peter 299
Charles begins his Russian campaign 300
His march to Smolensk and to the Ukraine 300
Poltava 302
Charles in Turkey 303
Swedish armed resistance, Stenbock 304
Return of Charles 305
Görtz 306
Important coalition against Sweden 307
Policy of Görtz 308
Secret understanding with the Stuarts 309
Charles invades Norway 310
His fall 310

Situation immediately after Charles's death 312
Critical analyses of Charles XII 312
Significance of Sweden's Baltic supremacy 314
Consternation after the death of Charles XII 315
Treaty of Nystad 317

Page

The Age of Freedom and the Gustavian Era. 1718—1815.

The Rule of the Estates 318
The problem of succession after the death of Charles XII 318
Alteration of the Constitution 1719—1720 319
Rule of the Estates 320
The power of the Estates over the Council 321
Party rule and political corruption 322
Steps taken to promote industry and commerce 323
Absence of corrective power against abuses 324

Party Strife during the »Age of Freedom» 325
The Holsteiners 325
Arvid Horn 326
Horn's policy 326
Triumph of the »Hat Party» 327
Political tendencies of the »Hats» 328
War with Russia 329
Party struggles of the decade 1740—1750 330
Queen Louisa Ulrika and the Court Party 331
Riksdag of 1755—1756 332
Sweden during the war period 1755—1763 333
Disorganized finances and excessive issue of banknotes 334
The »Caps» institute an inquiry into the administration of the »Hats» 335
Errors in the policy of the »Caps» — their dependence on Russia 336
Decadence of the rule of the Estates 337

Gustavus III's Revolution 337
Accession of Gustavus III 338
Revolution of 1772 339
Swedish culture in the »Age of Freedom» 340
Development of constitutional procedure during this age 340

The Reign of Gustavus III 341
Gustavus III as statesman 341
Court life and intellectual interests 342
Reform of the administration 344
Currency reform 344
Military reorganization 345
Revival of Party feeling 346

Page

Foreign policy of Gustavus III 347
Armed neutrality 348
Preparations for war 349
War with Russia 350
The Anjala conspiracy 350
Denmark opens hostilities 351
Riksdag and Revolution of 1789 352
End of the war 353
Murder of Gustavus III 354

The Fate of Sweden during the Wars of the French Revolution 354
Sweden and Russia after the death of Gustavus III .. 355
Gustavus IV Adolphus 355
Accession to the throne of Gustavus IV 356
Political influence of the French Revolution 357
War with Russia and Denmark 359
Deposition of Gustavus IV 361
Changes in the Constitution, 1809 361
Peace of Fredrikshamn 362
Election of a successor to Charles XIII, 1810 362
Bernadotte 363
Policy of the new Crown Prince Charles John 364
Coalition against Napoleon, 1813 365
Union with Norway 366

Sweden during the Nineteenth Century.
1815—1905.

Influence of the Great Powers on European politics and the process of democratization 368
Significance of the constitutional changes in 1809 369
Foreign and home policy of Charles XIV 370
Charles XIV and the Opposition 371
Oscar I 372
Liberal reforms in industry 373
Reform of the *Riksdag* 374
The Scandinavian movement 375
Sweden during the Crimean War 376
Charles XV 377
Reign of Oscar II 378
Domestic development 379
Free Trade versus Protection 380
National defence 380

Page

Conflicts with Norway and Dissolution of the Union . . 381
The reign of Gustavus V 382

APPENDIX.

Sweden of To-Day.

Position of the King in modern constitutional life 387
The Cabinet, the Riksdag and the political parties 392
Modern democracy and its bearing on Swedish politics 395
Successive Cabinets after 1905 399
Main features of Swedish economic conditions at the present time 406
Modern Swedish culture 416
Swedish emigration 423

*

Swedish Literature 427
List of Regents 437

*

Some Important Swedish Financial and Industrial Concerns 439

*

Noteworthy Endowments for Scientific and Humanitarian Purposes 451

NOTICE.

On the very eve of the publication of this book and in the midst of his other activities Professor Carl Hallendorff died suddenly on the 28th of April, 1929. He has written the greater part of the present work, the only parts which I have contributed being p.p. 1—118 and 227—238.

Adolf Schück.

PREFACE.

THE PRESENT EPITOME of Swedish History, written by two eminent Swedish historians, is of special interest not only because it gives a comprehensive and fascinating narrative of the part Sweden has acted in the great human drama from ancient times up to our own day, but also because it marks a novel and definite effort of the intellectual world in Sweden to reach a closer rapport with the English-speaking public. This tendency, which has been apparent for some time, meets a corresponding and growing desire in Great Britain.

This valuable work owes its origin altogether to the enterprise of a leading publisher in Stockholm and it has been issued solely for the purpose of acquainting interested people in the British Isles and Dominions as well as in the United States with facts concerning the origins and the development of the Swedish nation, and of rendering clear the main features of Sweden's history and of her relations to other countries.

In studying this book a British reader must be struck by the unique relations which he will discover, perhaps for the first time, to have existed between his own race and ours. Some illuminating information in that respect, generally left unnoticed, can be gathered from this work.

In English text books for the schools we read of the Danes and the Norsemen who invaded England, established kingdoms of their own, and became largely instrumental

in the formation of the racial character of the inhabitants of the country, and in his brilliant volume »The History of England», G. M. Trevelyan states that »this settlement of the Nordic peoples in our Island is the governing event in British history». He holds, that the »racial character of the Britons was fixed by the time of Canute», and neither the Roman, nor the Norman Conquest, can, according to his view, be compared in importance to the early Nordic invasions. That an essential part of this epochmaking migration was played by the people that from time immemorial has lived in the land which constitutes the present Sweden, is, however, rarely mentioned. This fact seems to have been generally overlooked even by historians. Few seem to have realised that »the Danes» came from Skåne, Halland and Blekinge and other provinces in the South of Sweden (See p. 13 of this volume) and, as Trevelyan puts it, »poured in from what is now the Swedish main land» over southern Denmark to England. Many of the Norsemen had also their homesteads in the old Swedish province, Viken, now Bohuslän, on the Swedish west coast (see map, page 33) and from innumerable skerries along the Swedish shores the Vikings set out for the fertile land across the sea. Modern researches bear out this fact beyond questioning. Placenames in the Eastern counties of England correspond in a very striking way with names of places in Sweden.

It can, therefore, be said with truth that we to a great degree come from the same stock and that the Swedish race has left traces on English soil and on the English mind which must have constituted a factor in the remarkable historical achievements of Great Britain. This circumstance must not altogether pass into oblivion.

A British reader would search in vain through all the pages of this book, from the early encounters of the in-

vasions in the Viking days up to the world war, for any open conflict, actual warfare or bloodshed, between the Swedes and his own people. Both nations have carried their arms over great parts of the European Continent but, although conflicts undoubtedly have occurred in reference to the Kingdom of Hanover in 1714 and a formal declaration of war was made at the end of the Napoleonic epoch, when Sweden had been forced to side with the Continent, they never have come to blows. Surely this is a remarkable fact. It too often escapes notice, but it ought to be held up as a teaching of our common history to be borne in mind by our two nations.

Another feature which must strike an Englishman, as he peruses the pages of this book, is the age of the Swedish realm. It was established as an independent state already when the »Song of Beowulf» was first heard in England. That the country never has been subjected to foreign invasions in historic times and that its population has not materially changed during the last ten centuries is another fact well worth keeping in mind when page after page of history passes review. The reader is thus offered a unique opportunity to study the natural growth from within of a nation which, while akin to their own, bears a distinct individual character and which is animated by an outlook on the affairs of the world based mainly on its own experience and national qualities.

The English are justly proud of their old institutions, their love of personal freedom and their law-abiding sense. So are we. In this connection I would venture to point to two noteworthy features, which meet the eye of the reader: In the first place, the prominent part the common people have taken in shaping the evolution of Sweden. They are always there. One realises that they maintain a hold of the affairs which may for long periods have been

obscured, but nevertheless existed. Remarkable pages of Swedish history are illuminated by the names of a long line of brilliant kings, and great statesmen have risen from the rank of the nobles, but the compact mass of peasants and common men always moved in the background and on critical occasions they have spoken the decisive word. To use an inadequate modern term, the democratic character of the Swedish nation will be recognised by the thoughtful reader.

The other feature I wish to emphasize is the great attachment of the Swedes to law and justice. This runs like a red thread through the changing events of their great past and is reflected in their painstaking efforts to establish the law as a dominating factor in the relations between individuals as well as between nations. In foreign affairs of late years, whether in the League of Nations or elsewhere, we may recognise this outstanding feature of their character and it can truly be said that the Swedes invariably will take their stand by law and justice whenever a conflict arises and that, accustomed to abide by the law as they are, they demand the same of others.

The last chapter of this welcome book has been written in order to complete the foregoing picture and to bring the narrative up to date. Naturally, different opinions can be held with regard to one's own time, varying according to points of view, and the two authors can have no other claims than to give their own.

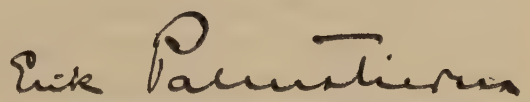
For several reasons Sweden has come to the front of late and has been greatly in the public eye in foreign countries. Her true character has been revealed in connection with the work at Geneva, with business enterprises embracing the whole world, with achievements in architecture, art and literature, and with attainments in the educational and social fields. Many publications, official and private,

Swedish and English, have recently appeared and they review in a vivid and informative way the aspirations and efforts of modern Sweden.

The present volume is not intended to compete with them; its principal object is to give an authoritative account of events in the *past* and to bring to the mind of British readers the whole range and the real significance of that strange, proud and romantic story, which records the life of an important branch of the Nordic race, which continually from Sweden takes an active part in the work for the advancement of civilization and of human progress.

The facts and pictures presented in this book provide an inviting background for the study of Sweden of today. For this reason I welcome it and wish to express the hope that it will be accepted by the British public in the spirit in which it has been given.

London, May 1929.



Swedish Minister to the Court of St. James.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE RENDERING OF NAMES AND TERMS used in one country into the language of another is not infrequently a matter of some difficulty. In the present translation the following conventions have been adopted. So far as Swedish proper names are concerned, Christian names such as *Karl, Johan, Gustav Adolf,* are translated into their English equivalents or into forms familiar to Englishmen — *Charles, John, Gustavus Adolphus.* On the other hand, less common Christian names which have no English equivalents, e. g. *Sten, Birger,* as well as all surnames[1] and place names, are given in their native form. Where a well recognized English name of a Swedish city or province exists, this is given in brackets the first time the name occurs in the text. For other continental proper names the spellings familiar in this country have usually been adopted; in the case of geographical names, »The Times Atlas» has generally been followed. Where possible, constitutional, legal and economic terms have been translated into English, but in those cases in which there is no exact English equivalent, the Swedish terms themselves have been used in preference to approximate English translations, which might prove misleading.

The work of translating this history of my native country has been rendered more pleasant by the courtesy of the auth-

[1] It may be pointed out that in the case of the great Swedish naturalist, the surname *Linnaeus,* which he bore previous to his being raised to the rank of a nobleman, is practically always used in England in preference to *von Linné.*

ors, who have generously allowed me practically a free hand and have always been ready to discuss difficult points. I am also greatly indebted to the many English friends, most of them members of the staff of the University of Birmingham, who have kindly assisted me, particularly in the matter of terminology. Professor Conrad Gill has read practically the whole of the manuscript and given me throughout most helpful advice, both as regards style and the choice of English terms. He has also suggested several interesting comparisons between Swedish and English conditions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which the author has allowed to be added to those already existing in the original text. Mr. John Humphreys, F. S. A., has furnished me with much valuable archaeological information, and also criticized the chapter on Prehistoric Sweden. Professor Smalley Baker has elucidated several difficult points regarding the use of legal terms in the early chapters of the book. Professor J. F. Rees has read through and made excellent suggestions for improving the medieval part. My thanks are also due to Miss Milner-Barry for helping me with several quotations which I have given in Elizabethan English, to Mr. M. F. Liddell, the Rev. A. H. Higson, Miss A. M. Carman, and others. Above all I owe my thanks to my husband, who not only tided me over the initial difficulties of remodelling my preliminary translation, but subsequently gave ungrudging help at a time when he himself was feeling the burden of heavy duties and ill health.

Birmingham, January 1929.

Lajla Yapp.

PREHISTORIC SWEDEN.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SWEDEN is but scantily illuminated by written documents. Not until the thirteenth century do the preserved records begin to give us a comparatively clear insight into her chequered destinies. The oldest Swedish Chronicle — *Erikskrönikan* — dates from the first half of the fourteenth century and contains no information earlier than the end of the twelfth century. This seems to indicate that Sweden as a state is of relatively recent origin, and that the Swedes only at a late hour appeared on the European stage. Such a conclusion, however, is premature. Though written Swedish records are lacking, contemporary continental documents refer to the existence of a Swedish state at the time of the Roman empire, and make it possible to trace the development of this state. Other valuable sources of information are the results of archaeological investigations, which show that Sweden has been occupied and cultivated for thousands of years by the forbears of her present inhabitants.

By the persistent work of a century, Swedish archaeology — amongst whose foremost representatives are O. Montelius and H. Hildebrand — has succeeded in reconstructing the main features of prehistoric Sweden. This research has shown that in prehistoric times the Swedes were not an isolated hyperborean race, but that they maintained

1—282538

an almost unbroken intercourse with the peoples of the European continent. When we first find signs of human habitation in the country, the physical features of Scandinavia were very different from those obtaining at the present time. During the glacial period, the enormous weight of the ice-cap had caused large portions of present-day Scandinavia to sink below sea level. As the ice subsequently melted, the submerged land reappeared, but so gradually that the rising is still in progress at the present time. The pressure over what is now Denmark was relieved earlier than that over Sweden and Finland, so Denmark emerged more rapidly than the land further north. In consequence of this, Denmark became continuous with southern Sweden, and for a considerable period the Baltic was an inland lake. Thus, as the great ice-sheet retreated from northern Europe, extensive areas became habitable for man. Finds of bone implements (axes, harpoons, fishing tackle), as well as of very primitive flint implements, afford evidence of human occupation even at this early period. These very primitive *bone age people* evidently lived by hunting and fishing.

During and after this period, the physiognomy of Scandinavia underwent further changes. The Baltic ceased to be a lake, direct communication with the North Sea again being established through the Sound and Great and Little Belt. The climate became less severe, and the vegetation less stunted than before. From this time onwards, the shores of southern Scandinavia yield numerous traces of early man. In particular, the »kitchen-middens», enormous mounds of shells, mark the feeding grounds of these primitive peoples. The implements now in use were generally made of flint, which occurs in great quantities in these districts — Denmark and Skåne (Scania) — but not in other parts of Scandinavia. Axes, knives, borers,

scrapers and arrow-heads were all made from flint. Remains of primitive pottery have also been found. In central Sweden traces of a similar culture have been discovered, though the axes as a rule are made of more resisting stone, less easy to manipulate than flint. During the whole of the stone age, flint and flint implements were exported from the South to these districts.

The culture of the older, primitive *stone age* is distinguished from the newer and more highly developed stone age. During the former, hunting and fishing were practically the only means of subsistence, while during the latter, agriculture and cattle rearing were introduced over a considerable part of Sweden. The flint implements were polished and more elegantly shaped, partly owing to foreign influence. Amongst the preserved antiquities of this period, the most remarkable are the monumental chambered burial mounds, which bear witness to Swedish connections with West-European culture. These barrows, built of gigantic blocks of stone, were usually family tombs, and large numbers occur in the south and west of Sweden. The material progress arrived at during this epoch is revealed by a remarkable dwelling place, discovered at Alvastra, close to the shore of Lake Vätter. An extensive platform of logs had been constructed in an out-of-the-way bog, and on this platform a number of small huts of sticks had been built. Judging from preserved scraps of meals, the inhabitants cultivated corn and possessed several domestic animals, such as dogs, cattle, sheep, goats and swine. Bones of elk, deer and bear, as well as of several kinds of fish, e. g. herring, testify to their skill in hunting and fishing. Charred remains of apples have also been found. In other places human dwellings must have been more easily accessible, but also more exposed to danger. Several investigators have regarded this advance

in stone age civilization as a result of an immigration of a foreign and superior race. This leads us to an important problem in Scandinavian history: how long has the race to which the present Swedish people belongs been resident in Sweden? The Swedes are of Germanic origin and belong therefore to the Caucasian race. In historic time the country has never been subjected to foreign invasion, and its population — unlike that of most other countries — has therefore not materially altered during the last ten centuries. The addition of a considerable German element to the nobility and the commoners, and a certain admixture from imported prisoners of war or from settlers of foreign extraction in the rural population, may be disregarded. But have foreign invaders entered Sweden during prehistoric times?

In order to answer this question, it is important to know that philologists are of opinion that Swedish place-names are of Germanic origin, except those in the extreme north, which are of Lapp or Finnish origin. As names of rivers, lakes and mountains probably are the oldest, this fact confirms the view that the inhabitants of Sweden still are of the same race as they were during the stone age. Anthropological investigations of skeleton material which has been found in the barrows of the stone age have led to similar conclusions. The long skulls and other traits, still characteristic of the Germanic race, are present also in the skeletons of the stone age. But during the stone age, as in our own time, we find a certain proportion of round skulls among the inhabitants of Sweden. Nothing seems to indicate that these round-skulled people — as previous investigators were inclined to think — belonged to dispossessed aborigines. They seem rather to have been immigrants of a later date, who did not succeed in displacing the older, long-skulled race. It appears unlikely

that they influenced the cultural development of the Scandinavian stone age to any appreciable extent.

The stone age was followed by the *bronze age*, which lasted from about 1800 to about 600 B. C. During this period a metal, bronze, became the raw material used for the weapons and sharp-edged tools of the ruling classes, as well as for certain household utensils. Gold, too, began to be used sparingly for ornaments. Bronze — an alloy of tin and copper — was not produced in the country, but was imported from the continent, probably from France and Spain. The rich Swedish copper mines were not opened up until medieval times. Bronze, as opposed to flint, became therefore a very expensive raw material, and certain stone implements were used during this period side by side with the bronze articles. It is evident that Sweden during the bronze age made a decided cultural advance, largely due to the influence of southern European countries. The Swedes maintained trade connections with these countries, and imported many objects which were imitated by native craftsmen, but in an increasingly original way. The Scandinavian bronze articles have often such an elegant and artistic form, that they are only surpassed by those manufactured in Greece and in the East. Large bronze horns, artistically decorated fibulas and necklaces, even entire garments bear witness to the flourishing civilization of the Scandinavian bronze age.

We know also a little of the religious ideas prevalent at that time. The bronze age people had a number of religious symbols, amongst which axes and sun discs are particularly conspicuous. Most of these symbols were probably connected with the cult of sowing and reaping: the people tried to link up the deities of the sun and the rain with their fields. They also implored the aid of

higher powers against the demons threatening the dead in their graves. The walls of one of the chambered barrows in Skåne are decorated, not only with divers sacred symbols, but also with drawings illustrating the magic ceremonies themselves.

The most remarkable records dealing with the civilization of the bronze age are the so-called *hällristningar* or cliff drawings, pictures and magical signs engraved on highly polished cliffs. They occur especially in the provinces of Bohuslän (Viken), Östergötland (East Gothland) and Uppland. They throw light on the religious conceptions, as well as on the everyday life, of the bronze age. Figures of horses and carts, of ploughing oxen, of swine and goats speak of agricultural pursuits, while those of elk and deer emphasize the importance of hunting. Still more conspicuous are the numerous engravings of ships, telling a tale of seafaring adventure and enterprise. These long-ships of the bronze age were probably propelled by paddles, and were indispensable to the inhabitants of a sea coast intersected by innumerable waterways, affording them the means of entering into friendly or hostile relations with other peoples. Small communities governed by chieftains may have existed at this time. An enormous mound near Uppsala has probably been constructed over the remains of a mighty chief from the bronze age. His dead body had been burnt on a pyre, a custom which did not occur in the burial ceremonies of the stone age.

During the following *iron age* the raw material used for weapons and edged tools consisted of iron. This metal was plentiful in Sweden, and the use of iron therefore became of paramount importance. Only the comparatively poor surface ore was utilized, the rich deep-lying seams being too difficult to develop. The early, so-called

pre-Roman iron age occupied the last five centuries preceding the birth of Christ. There is a remarkable dearth of interesting material from this period, attributed by some archaeologists to deteriorated climatic conditions, by others to altered customs of burial. The last two centuries, however, show a marked Celtic influence. The Germanic peoples had begun their armed folk-wanderings and come into contact — both peaceful and hostile — with the Celts, whose culture was superior to their own. The Cimbres in Denmark, for instance, had moved southwards through Bohemia and Gaul, and reached northern Italy, where they were defeated by the Romans (101 B. C.).

The Celts were attacked from different sides and defeated by Germanic tribes as well as by Roman legions, whereby the boundaries of the Roman Empire were extended as far as Germanic territory on the Rhine. From now onwards a strong influence of Roman culture becomes noticeable in Scandinavia, and the first four centuries after Christ are therefore called the *Roman iron age*. Roman influence reached Sweden along two different routes: the earliest proceeded via Denmark from the Roman colonies on the Rhine, many objects finding their way north from these outposts of Roman civilization during the first two centuries after Christ. Later on a different trade-route was opened up to the East-Roman Empire, the South-Gothic tribes acting as intermediaries. These Goths had migrated, in the first instance probably from Sweden, and, along the shores of the Vistula, penetrated further south until they finally settled in the old Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea. The majority of Roman coins and works of art, buried in Swedish soil, have probably travelled through this South-Gothic state. To the same source have also the first Germanic

letters, the »*runes*», been traced, which were originally used for magical purposes.

During the Roman iron age, Sweden is for the first time mentioned in an historic document. Tacitus, the Roman historian, who lived towards the end of the first century A. D., speaks in his famous work »Germania» about »the tribes of the *Suiones*».[1] They lived in the middle of the Baltic and were powerful both in warriors and in ships. The shape of their naval craft — he goes on to say — was noteworthy, in that the bow and the stern were constructed alike, and therefore equally well suited for landing. The boats did not carry sails, neither were the oars fastened in a row along the sides, but left free. The Suiones — Tacitus continues — had a profound respect for wealth, and »therefore autocracy reigns without any restrictions and without questioning its right to obedience». From these and other pieces of information less easy to interpret, we may infer that the Suiones had formed a strong maritime state, governed by powerful kings. Their kingdom was situated in central Sweden and consisted chiefly of the shores and innumerable islands of Lake Mälar, which was connected with the Baltic. Amongst the several tribes of the Suiones, the one inhabiting Uppland, north of Lake Mälar, took the lead. In this kingdom, interspersed with lakes and rivers, the ship was the most important, often the only means of communication. Hence — as in Norway and Denmark — war was generally waged at sea. The navy seems to have been so effectively organized that the Suiones became the dominant tribe in the Baltic.

The *Goths*,[2] the other important tribe inhabiting Sweden, are mentioned for the first time by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) under the name of *Goutoi*. The Goths lived on the plains in the South of Sweden

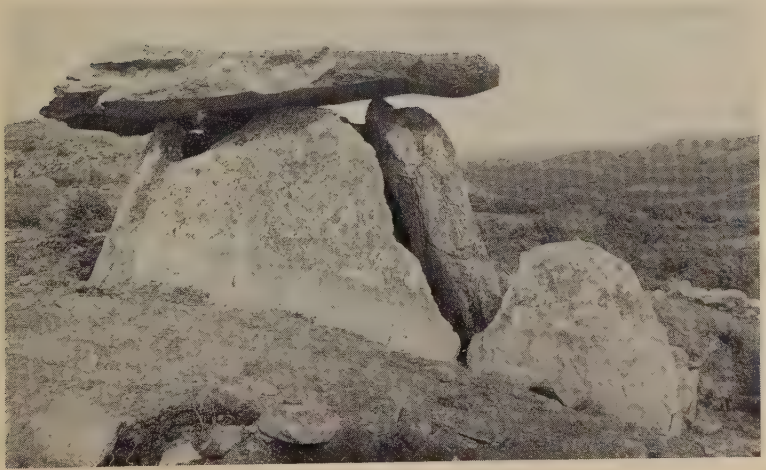
[1] O. N. *Sviar*, Swed. *Svear*, A. S. *Sweon*. [2] Swed. *Götar*.

1.

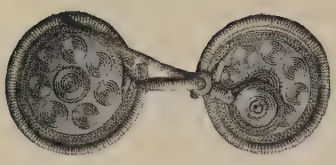
2.

3.

4.



Above: Objects from the stone age: 1. *Flint knife (from Skåne,* $^{2}/_{5}$). 2. *Perforated axe (from Småland,* $^{1}/_{3}$). 3. *Perforated axe (from Södermanland,* $^{2}/_{5}$). 4. *Sculptured moose (from Uppland,* $^{2}/_{5}$).
Below: Megalithic tomb from Bohuslän.

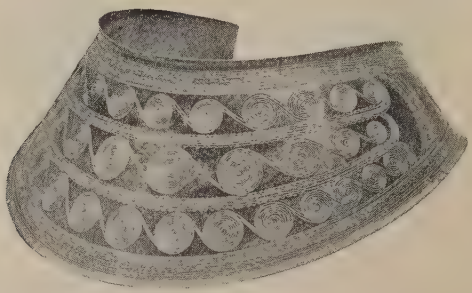


1.

2.

3.

4.



5.

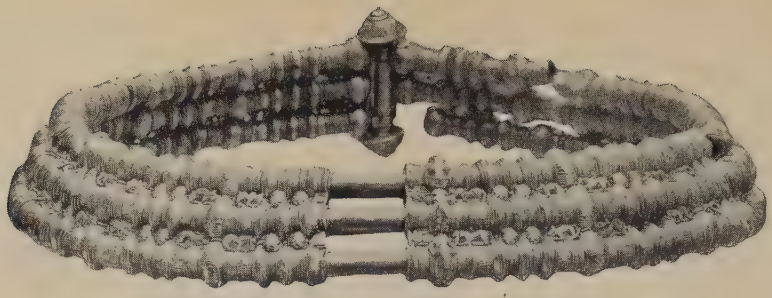
6.

Objects from the bronze age: 1. Buckle, inlaid with gold (found in the tomb of a chieftain at Håga near Uppsala, 1/3). 2. Axe (from Halland, 1/3). 3. Sword (from Västergötland, 1/5). 4—5. Spear-head and collar (from Skåne, 1/3). 6. Bowl-shaped ornament fastened to the front of the girdle (from Västergötland, 1/3).

»Cliff-drawing» at Tanum in Bohuslän.

»Cliff-drawing» of a ship from Brandskog in Uppland.

Hällristningar (»Cliff-drawings») from the bronze age.



1.

2.

4.

3.

5.

6.

Objects from the age of folk-wanderings: 1. Gold necklet (from Västergötland, 1/2). 2. Fibula (from Helsingland, 1/3). 3. Fibula (from Öland, 1/3). 4—6. Sword (1/4), helmet (1/5) and umbo of shield (1/3) found in the burial mounds at Vendel in Uppland.

— in that portion which is still called *Götaland* — their territory being divided from that of the Suiones by great primeval forests. It has already been mentioned that in all probability Gothic tribes emigrated from Sweden first to the south coast of the Baltic, and from thence to the northern coast of the Black Sea. South of the Goths the *Heruls* seem to have had their home, but they were driven away by the *Danes* — the tribe which has given Denmark her name. The Heruls were a remarkable people, who undertook viking raids on the coasts of the Roman Empire already in the third century A. D., and one group emigrated and settled by the Danube. A non-Germanic people, the *Lapps* (»Phinnoi») had at this time penetrated into the north of Sweden, where they lived as nomads in the wild and barren highlands, as they do to this day. The Romans had no collective name for what now comprises Sweden. They gave the name »Scandinavia» to the whole forest-clad and mountainous peninsula, now divided into the two kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, as well as to the adjacent islands. Originally, »Scandinavia» implied only the southernmost Swedish province, Skåne (Scania).

The currents of civilization reaching Scandinavia from the outside world became stronger during the ensuing period. The age of the *folk-wanderings,* 400—800 A. D., which succeeded the iron age, may to a certain extent be considered also as historic, on the ground that we possess some information of the political history of Sweden during this epoch. The folk-wanderings marked the spring-tide in the history of the Germanic peoples, when the different East- and West-Germanic tribes overran the disintegrating Roman Empire, building up new states on its ruins. Folk-wanderings had already taken place (see above) from Scandinavia, where a considerable portion of the continental

Germanic tribes probably originated. Not only were Goths and Heruls of Scandinavian origin, but probably also Burgundians and Vandals. Hence the Gothic historian Jordanes, who lived in the middle of the sixth century, speaks of *Skandza* (Scandinavia) as »the bosom of the peoples».

The intercourse between the Germanic peoples on the continent and in Scandinavia was not interrupted by the extensive wanderings of the former in the south and west of Europe. On the contrary, the migrating tribes seem to have kept up unbroken communications with the mother country, and received fresh reserves from their kinsfolk in the north, to fill the gaps in their fighting forces. The Greek historian Prokopios relates an interesting incident about the Heruls, who inhabited the present Hungary during the sixth century. When they lost their king, they sent messengers to the Heruls in Scandinavia, with the request that a member of the old dynasty might come and rule over them. With an escort of two hundred warriors, the selected chief set out to find his distant tribesmen and became their ruler.

The rich booty that many of these warrior bands brought home can be gauged by the abundance of antiquities found in Scandinavian soil. The fifth century and the beginning of the sixth might almost be called a »golden age» on account of the numerous and often magnificent articles of gold, dating from this older period of the folk-wanderings. A great number of the unearthed treasures, especially Roman and Byzantine gold coins, were doubtless part of the enormous tribute extorted by Germanic armies from the Roman emperors. Also large quantities of unwrought gold reached the homesteads of the Goths *(Götar)*, where skilled craftsmen fashioned the raw metal into elegant ornaments. In the highly

developed industrial arts of Scandinavia we can study the singular Germanic ornamentation. The *animal motif* of classical art has here been daringly transformed into decorative coils. Discoveries made at Vendel in Uppland, the residence of the foremost chiefs of the Suiones, give ample proof of the wealth and splendour of the later period of folk-wanderings, as well as of the following epoch. The deceased Lords, clad in magnificent armour, were buried in boats, together with their weapons and household gods, their dogs and horses. Thus they were well equipped to continue their earthly life of warfare and adventure in the kingdom of the dead.

Far-reaching political changes took place in the internal history of Sweden during the age of folk-wanderings. When this epoch began, a comprehensive political union did not exist. Prokopios (sixth century) relates that thirteen different tribes, each ruled by a king of their own, inhrabited Scandinavia (»Thule»). Also Jordanes (p. 10) enumerates many small Scandinavian tribes. These tribes had probably been formed by lesser units or clans joining together. In Götaland many names end in *-kind*[1] (= clan, Lat. *gens*), still recalling the far-off days of the clan. The tribes in their turn united into small kingdoms, and the most ancient of these was *Sve-thiud* (derived from *thiud,* people), the kingdom of the Suiones with a famous temple at Uppsala. The present *landskap* or province of Uppland at one time consisted of three separate *folkland*. These united into *Uppland* which became the nucleus of *Svethiud*. We may infer this from the facts that the freemen of Uppland elected the king of the *Suiones* or *Svear;* and that the other large provinces of the kingdom, Västmanland and Södermanland, received their names because they were respectively situated

[1] Cp. Eng. »Kindred».

west and south of the main country. Also the other important kingdom, that of the *Götar* or Goths, had evidently been built up in the same way, the centre being Västergötland (West Gothland). The *Thing* of this province retained until medieval times its archaic name »the Thing of all the Goths». Västergötland was, however, only the western half of the kingdom, the other portion, Östergötland or East Gothland, being situated between Lake Vätter and the Baltic. An old tribe called *Virdar,* living in the South of Sweden, are supposed to be descendants of, or related to, the Heruls, who earlier inhabited these parts.

The Anglo-Saxon *Song of Beowulf* and the old Norwegian poem *Ynglingatal* give valuable information about the dynasties reigning over the Suiones and the Goths at the time of the folk-wanderings. The royal dynasty of the Suiones, first called »Skilfingar» and later »Ynglingar», was clearly one of the foremost in Scandinavia, later Norwegian kings claiming descent from these »Ynglingar». Their chief residence was at Uppsala, where three huge burial mounds still remain, confirming that some of the kings were cremated there. The poems mentioned above speak of four Uppsala kings, who may be considered as truly historic: Egil, also called Angantyr, his sons Ottar and Ale, and Adils, the son of Ottar. These kings probably reigned during the first half of the sixth century. According to Beowulf, several of them waged war against a neighbouring tribe, named »Gaetas», probably the Goths or *Götar.* Also the Goths were now governed by kings, one of them the renowned Hygilac, who, according to Frankish chronicles, fell in a war against the Frisians (about 516). These Gothic kings appear to have lived on friendly terms with the kings of the Danes.

During the age of folk-wanderings the Gothic state seems to have been conquered by the Suiones, and incorporated in their kingdom. We know nothing about the wars which brought about this momentous political event. A late and confused tradition speaks of a battle at Bråvalla, on the border between the two countries, where the Suiones were victorious. Possibly the Suiones only conquered the land of the Goths by instalments, in which case the eastern portion, exposed to the attacks of the well organized fleet of the Mälar kingdom, probably was the first to succumb. The conquest did not result in any loss of self-government to the Goths, nor was their land taken over by the Suiones. The Goths simply recognized the king of the Suiones as their king, and probably handed over their royal domains to him. That considerable divergencies continued to exist between the two peoples, is evident half-way through the middle ages, their administration of justice, for instance, being different. The chief outcome of this struggle was the rise of a new large state in Scandinavia. This Swedish kingdom did not include all the provinces belonging to modern Sweden, and for several hundred years its territory continued in the main unchanged. The Danes, for instance, ruled unconquered in Skåne, and retained this fertile province for another ten centuries. It is written in one of the medieval laws: »Through the union of the land of the Suiones with the land of the Goths in heathen time, the kingdom of Sweden was established.»

THE VIKING AGE.

THE AGE OF FOLK-WANDERINGS was followed by the Viking age, which to this day is enveloped in a halo of romance. The Viking age covered approximately two and a half centuries — from about 800 to about 1050 A. D. — and during this period Christianity was definitely introduced into Scandinavia. The age derived its name from the Vikings, those daring pirates and traders, who in large bands sailed from the North to gain riches in civilized European countries, either by peaceful barter or by force of arms. These Viking raids were a natural sequel to the armed invasions of the folk-wanderings, but with this difference, that the North Germanic tribes played the rôle previously enacted by their continental kinsmen. They differed also in another way: it was no longer so much the entire tribes who broke up from their dwelling places, as large contingents of warriors who set out, time and again, on organized expeditions to win fame and booty in distant lands. The Vikings either settled down abroad, or returned to their native country — if they were not killed in battle. Up to a point, the Viking raids may be compared with the recent vigorous emigration from the Scandinavian countries. The sturdiest of the inhabitants, especially those who found it difficult to obtain their livelihood at home, emigrated in the hope of acquiring power and wealth abroad. It seems likely that Scandinavia

suffered from overpopulation. In the southern provinces most of the arable land was probably already before the end of the previous epoch in the possession of the old families of freemen. A large increase in the population seems to have occurred during the Viking age, and consequently there was not enough land to go round. It became both a lure and a necessity to landless young men, trained in the use of arms, to seek their fortune in other countries. They lacked the inclination and the energy to drain the waterlogged valleys or make clearings in the wild forests of their native land: and such painstaking everyday work, whenever attempted, gave only scanty reward for their toil.

During the Viking age, the Scandinavian peoples ruled the northern seas. They seem to have learnt the art of sailing during the period of the folk-wanderings, and their armed expeditions became in consequence much more extended than before. The long, narrow, shallow-draught Viking ships traversed the seas by the aid of a single square sail, or a number of oars. A ship intended for warfare usually carried twenty pairs of oars and a crew of forty to sixty warriors. Even larger ones are mentioned, with thirty-four pairs of oars and a crew two hundred strong. The bow of the better class ships was often decorated with animal heads, carved in wood, and gilded. The shields of the crew were hung along the gunwales, thus decorating the boats as well as affording shelter for the oarsmen. By degrees several different types of vessels were evolved, with different names, some suitable for naval warfare, others for trading activities. In good weather the ships travelled with extraordinary speed: a voyage from Norway to Greenland could be accomplished in six days. As far as possible, the Vikings sailed along the coasts — the compass being still unknown — but they did not hesitate to venture across the ocean. An important feature of the ships was the ease with which

they could be navigated up the rivers, and even drawn cross-country for short distances. The Vikings were thereby enabled, not only to visit the coast, but to penetrate far inland.

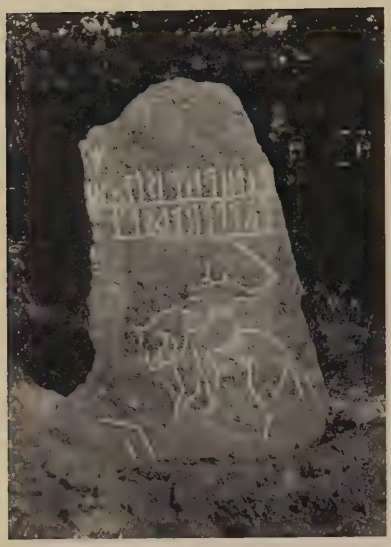
Scandinavian expansion during the Viking age proceeded along diverse routes. The Danes and the Norwegians sailed westwards. From 793 onwards their wild attacks are recorded in English history, and shortly afterwards also the Carlovingian Empire became exposed to similar invasions. In many cases large swarms of Vikings settled down in the invaded countries. A number of small Norwegian settlements grew up in Ireland, in the Isle of Man and on the shores of Scotland. The Danes acquired large areas in England, later called »the Danelaw». The Anglo-Saxons bought themselves free from the devastations of the Vikings by paying enormous sums in tribute, »Danegeld», and their difficulties ceased only when Canute, King of Denmark, became ruler also of England. The most renowned of the Viking states was founded in Normandy in the beginning of the ninth century, chiefly by Danish warriors. The French kings gave this province as a fief to the northern chieftains, in order that they should defend France against their own countrymen. Still earlier the Carlovingian emperors had resorted to similar protective measures, by handing over the defence of the mouths of the Rhine — so essential to them from the point of view of commerce — to Scandinavian vassals.

The Swedes did not — as far as is known — make any independent exploits in the west, but many a Swedish Viking must have taken part in the Danish-Norwegian expeditions. A number of Swedish rune stones have been erected over men who had participated in raids on England. A rune stone in Uppland, for instance, was raised in memory of one who had followed three different chiefs, and each time

Above: The tumuli at G a m l a U p p s a l a (Ancient Uppsala). They date from the age of folk-wanderings and according to the tradition Aun, Egil and Adils, kings of the Suiones, were buried here. In the background may be seen the remaining parts of the old cathedral, erected on the site of the heathen temple.

Below to the left: Stone with engraved ship from the Roman iron age of the type described by Tacitus (found in Uppland).

Below to the right: Small bronze image of the god Frey, from the Viking age (found in Södermanland, 1/3).



1.

2.

3.

4.

1. Rune stone with the older type of runes (about 500 A. D.) from Uppland. 2. The rune stone from Rök (Östergötland) with the longest rune inscription known to exist (probably from the ninth century). The meaning of the text has given rise to much controversy. One part is written in verse, some parts are in prose, others again are written in so-called secret runes (those near the upper edge of the stone). 3. So-called b i l d s t e n (»picture stone») from Gotland, picturing warriors and a viking ship, evidently intended to portray the journey to the land of the dead. 4. Christian rune stone from Uppland with highly developed ornamentation.

received »Danegeld». Many Swedes belonged to the army with which King Canute conquered England in 1016, and one rune stone commemorates Swedish warriors who took service in Canute's bodyguard, the famous *Tinglid*. The remarkable quantity of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Swedish soil has probably to a large extent been »Danegeld», paid to Swedish Vikings.

The Swedes, however, made their mark in European history by their enterprise in the East. A number of Finnish, Baltic and Slav tribes inhabited north-eastern Europe. They had not yet organized themselves into stable communities and therefore lacked adequate power of resistance. Kings of the Suiones had probably already during the previous era crossed the Baltic with their well-equipped navies, and waged war on some of these tribes. From the ninth century we have definite records of Swedish raids on Courland, which for a time was obliged to pay tribute to the king of the Suiones. A later tradition, referred to by the Icelandic historian Snorre Sturlasson, in his sagas of Norwegian kings, speaks of hostile expeditions to Finland, Carelia and Esthonia, where the Swedish conquerors are said to have erected camps, fortified by earthworks. This information is supported by the occurrence of old Swedish place-names, indicating that a Swedish minority had settled in certain districts of the Finnish and Esthonian coasts in pre-Christian times. Only the Danes could challenge the power of the Swedes in the Baltic, for the non-Germanic peoples were not sailors. In the ninth century, Swedish Viking-traders began to penetrate further east on the navigable Russian rivers, and they founded the state which became the nucleus of modern Russia.

The reasons for this Swedish policy of expansion were no doubt largely commercial. Trade between the West and the East had come to a standstill as a result of Musulman

conquests and raids in Mediterranean countries, and of the restrictive trade policy of the Byzantine empire. Western peoples were, however, in great need of the costly merchandise of the East, especially spices, groceries and fine textiles. The enterprising Scandinavian merchants therefore tried to open up a new trade route to the East. Since the time of the folk-wanderings they kept up trade connections with the Franks. Goods were brought from the Baltic to southern Jutland and thence across the narrow stretch of land to the coasts of the North Sea. This flourishing transit trade concentrated in the city of Slesvig, which rose to special importance during the ninth century. Birka, situated on an island in Lake Mälar, was the centre of Swedish export trade, especially in furs, and attracted traders even from Frisia. Swedish merchants sailed from the east coast of Sweden *(Roden)* to Russia, and penetrated along her rivers to the Chazar state on the lower Volga. About 839, Swedish emissaries are said to have found their way — probably through the land of the Chazars — to Constantinople, where they negotiated with the Byzantine emperor. An extensive trade was before long built up between Musulman countries and the Byzantine empire on the one hand, and northern and western Europe on the other. The Swedish merchants who negotiated this trade were called *Varangians*[1] (»Varyag») by the Slav population. They soon found it imperative to secure certain commanding positions along their trade routes, a task not very difficult to accomplish, as the Slavs and Finns were too weak to put up any serious resistance. The Russian Nestor Chronicle relates that in 859 the Varangians came across the sea, and forced several Finnish and Slav tribes in northern Russia to pay tribute, but three years later they were driven away. »The peoples then began to govern themselves», the chronicler continues,

[1] Derived from the Scandinavian »vaeringjar» or followers of a Viking chief.

»but it went badly: clan rose against clan, and there was internal strife between them. And they said to each other: Let us seek for a prince who can reign over us and judge what is right. And they went over the sea to the Varangians, to Russ, for so were these Varangians called, and said to them: 'Our land is large and fertile, but there is no order in it: come ye therefore and reign and rule over us.'» It is afterwards related how three brothers were selected, who at the head of »Russ» went to the country of the Slavs. The eldest, Rurik, settled in Novgorod, and became, after the death of his brothers, ruler also over their provinces, where he portioned out the more important cities to his chief supporters. The Varangian state rapidly extended towards the south, where the city of Kiev became the centre of a resurrected principality.

This is the story of the foundation of Russia according to the Nestor Chronicle, and in spite of certain inadequacies, the account is probably on the whole correct. It is possible, however, that the Varangians were called in during a civil war to assist one of the fighting sections, and, once on the spot, grasped the opportunity of making themselves lords over them all. The majority of these Varangians came from the Swedish east coast, called *Roden*. Many of the peoples in the East, who had suffered from Swedish raids, spoke of Roden as Rots, Routsi, and so on. The Swedish settlers in Russia were therefore called »Russ» by Arabs and Slavs. As time went on, the name Russ began to include also the Finns and Slavs, ruled by the Swedes, whose northern stock soon merged into one with the subject population, and their country received its present name, Russia. The Varangians or Russ all had Norse names, such as Rurik (old Norse Hrurikr), Oskold (Höskuld) and Olog (Helge). All over the country the Varangians erected forts, especially in the cities along the trade routes, e. g. Novgorod,

Smolensk, Rostov, Polotsk and Kiev. These Viking settlements were not dependencies of the Swedish king, but they maintained friendly relations with the old country, from which they received continuous reinforcements of emigrating warriors. These fresh forces were necessary in order to carry out the policy of expansion initiated by the Varangians from Novgorod. Rurik's son and successor, Oleg, not only captured other Varangian states like Smolensk and Kiev, but made in 907 an attack on Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine emperors.

In the peace treaty following this Russo-Byzantine war and a second one of later date, the Varangians were granted trade privileges in the Byzantine Empire. Large companies of Varangian merchants sailed every year via Novgorod and Smolensk to Constantinople, where they were allowed by the emperor to stay during certain months in a special hostelry, and carry on their trade without many restrictions. During their long journeys to Constantinople the merchants were obliged to change vessels, and, at certain unnavigable rapids, both goods and boats had to be dragged overland. A Greek writer in the tenth century uses Scandinavian names for the rapids of the Dnieper, a fact which indicates the extent of Swedish commerce on this river. In addition to this Byzantine trade, the Varangian merchants extended their commerce further east, especially with the Chazars and Bulgars. The large number of Oriental coins found in Swedish soil — not less than about 40,000 have been unearthed, dating from this period — prove the extraordinary scope of this trade. Several Arabian geographers give interesting information about the Scandinavian merchants, who sold furs and other commodities as well as slaves. They were tall of stature and invariably carried arms: axe, knife and sword. Their clothes were simple, but they adorned themselves, and still more their wives, with chains of gold and

silver or of glass beads, often of great value. The Varangians were heathens, who prayed to images of wood, bringing them offerings of food and drink. When a prominent man died, one of his wives was sacrificed. After performing certain ceremonies, a woman, called »the angel of death», put the wife into a richly furnished ship, in which her dead husband had already been placed, together with slaughtered domestic animals, food and drink. The ship was then set on fire, and a mound of earth thrown up over the ashes.

By degrees the Varangian rulers seem to have become Slavonicized, and this process was accelerated after Rurik's descendants transferred their chief residence from Novgorod to Kiev, and Prince Vladimir the Great (in 989) embraced Christianity. Both Vladimir and his son Jaroslav, however, owed their ascendancy entirely to the aid of Swedish troops, and even in the middle of the eleventh century, the Russian rulers were still surrounded by a strong Scandinavian bodyguard. These bands of Northerners cultivated not only the art of warfare but of song, and we find even today in Russian folklore (Bylina) reminiscences of Scandinavian ballads. These Russian ballads describe for instance how a magnificently arrayed Viking ship came sailing from Sweden, and how the Vikings took service with the Russian princes. The northern warriors also entered the employ of the Byzantine emperors: during the tenth century the Varangian guard surrounding the emperor was recruited from Scandinavia and not least from Sweden. A rune stone in Uppland commemorates Ragnvald, who had been a captain of the Varangian guard in Constantinople. The »axe-bearing barbarians from Thule» were the backbone of the Byzantine army. They served not only as a garrison in the Imperial Palace but also as a fighting force in distant countries. The following lines are engraved on a rune stone over a certain Olof:

Eastwards
he ploughed the stem,
and he fell
in the land of the Lombards.

Still more noteworthy are the runes within the dragon coils, engraved on a classical marble lion in the harbour of Piraeus (now in the arsenal of Venice). The ornamentation of the coils, and the now almost illegible inscription seem to indicate that they were chiselled by men from *Roden*. The aim of these adventurous travellers was to win glory and wealth, and many a rune stone describes how some returned, laden with gold, to Sweden — while others met their death on a foreign battlefield and never came back. A stone in Östergötland informs us that a freeman *(bonde)* had five sons: one of them was killed in a war in Uppland, another in Greece, a third in the island of Bornholm. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Swedish warriors were still being recruited for the Byzantine army. The oldest Swedish law code contains clauses dealing with the inheritance of a deceased man's property, in the event of one of the heirs being absent in Greece. It would appear that the residence of Scandinavians in the Byzantine empire has had a certain cultural significance. They became, for instance, acquainted with a number of Oriental tales, which were afterwards transmitted to North- and West-European peoples, and absorbed into their literature. The well-known story of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, is almost entirely Oriental in origin, though Northern in its setting.

Our knowledge of Swedish enterprise in foreign countries during the Viking age is fairly extensive, but we have very few records of the inner history of Sweden during this important era. A few solitary kings are known by name, but only as the epoch draws to a close can we distinguish

individual personages. In Sweden, as in Norway and Denmark — which two countries achieved national unity during the Viking age — sanguinary contests for the crown seem to have occurred between different members of a royal house. Towards the end of the tenth century, for instance, such rivalry arose between two kinsmen belonging to the ruling Swedish dynasty: Styrbjörn at the head of a Danish army attempted to drive away Eric the Victorious from the Swedish throne, but was decisively beaten at Uppsala. Swedish wars of conquest also against neighbouring countries are not unknown. Eric the Victorious is said to have occupied Denmark for a time. We know that his son Olof took part in the coalition which deprived Olaf Tryggvesson (of Norway) of life and kingdom, and that he further, in alliance with his Norwegian brother-in-law, Olaf Haraldson (»Saint Olaf»), waged war against Canute, the powerful king of England and Denmark. Neither these wars, however, nor the naval expeditions which the Swedish kings from time to time undertook against the Baltic-Finnish peoples appear to have led to any permanent conquests. One important province came under the sphere of influence of the Swedish king about this time, for the island of Gottland, then a centre of North-European commerce, agreed to pay tribute to the king of Sweden.

In addition to his bodyguard *(hird)*, the Swedish king had at his disposal the large and well-organized navy *(leding)*, pre-eminently a national creation. This fleet was organized in such a way as to make it of supreme importance to the country, and it seems also to have served as a model for other Scandinavian peoples. All the provinces along the coast were divided into districts, each of which was required to equip a fixed number of fully armed ships with crews of definite strength, consisting of both warriors and oarsmen. The regions bordering on the coast were especially

organized for this purpose, and, because they mainly supplied the navy with oarsmen *(roddare)*, were called *Roden*. Here too, during times of unrest, an extensive watch was kept, beacon fires warning the population further inland of approaching enemies. Originally, the *leding* was a marauding expedition under command of the king, setting out every year against some Baltic people, and not in a modern sense a defence force. Instead of finding them irksome, the population welcomed participation in these lucrative campaigns of plunder. The booty, which often included prisoners of war destined to be sold as slaves, was divided between the king and the ships' crews. Some chiefs seem to have fitted out their own ships, and for this reason were granted special privileges. The right to call out the *leding* every year was one of the most important prerogatives of the king, and later, during the Middle Ages, was utilized by him as an excuse for imposing taxes. As the navy consisted of many ships with fairly large crews, it was a formidable weapon in the hands of the king.

The Swedish king was above all a warrior chief, for his power to interfere in the domestic concerns of the different provinces *(landskap)* was greatly curtailed by the prevailing, highly developed system of self-government. He was not entitled to raise taxes, but depended for revenue on the scattered complex of royal domains, the so-called *Uppsala öd*, which were held by the elected king, and passed automatically to his successor. The king travelled with his bodyguard from one of his farms to another, in order to make use of their produce. Royal bailiffs seem to have resided on some of these farms, which therefore were called *husabyar*, a word that still forms part of many place-names. Whether or not the king possessed any judicial power over his subjects is a controversial question. It seems probable that he presided over the *Things* in the oldest

parts of his kingdom, the Mälar provinces, and that he exercised some influence in the appointment of judges. One of the oldest and most important of his functions was the performance of certain sacrificial rites for the well-being of the people at the great religious festivals in Uppsala. The kingship consequently was regarded by the Swedes as sacramental in character, and the reigning dynasty (the Ynglings) claimed divine origin.

Adam of Bremen, a German canon, has given a vivid description of the temple at Uppsala, where the different tribes of Suiones were knit together by a common cult. The temple, probably built of wood, certain portions being gilded, stood close to an »evergreen tree», in the vicinity of the previously mentioned burial mounds erected over the remains of former Uppsala kings. Within the temple were three images, representing the principal gods: Thor, Odin (Wodan) and Frö or Frey (Fricco), to whom sacrifices were offered by a special priesthood. The great festivals were celebrated every ninth year, in the winter, and lasted for nine days. Great masses of people foregathered on these occasions, deeming it their duty to be present when the king performed the great sacrifice. Human beings as well as animals were sacrificed. Their blood was dedicated to the images of the gods, while their bodies were hoisted into the sacred trees of an adjacent wood, and there allowed to decay. One sacrifice, which evidently had the character of an oracle, consisted in the lowering of a human being into a sacred well within the precincts of the temple. Failure to recover the dead body was regarded as a token that the wishes of the people would be fulfilled. Common meals of a religious nature occurred at the festivals, when those present partook of the flesh of animals, slaughtered in honour of the gods. The unmitigated barbarism of this heathen cult was particularly manifest in the worship of Frey, the god

of fertility, to whom the assembled multitude intoned coarse and sensual songs.

Various minor temples were erected in many districts, where local deities were worshipped. Modern Swedish place-names, especially those ending in *vi, åker, al* and *harg*, give us a clue to the actual position of these old sacred places, e. g. Frö-vi and Tors-åker. Some of these names make it clear that, besides the three principal gods, other deities were worshipped, such as Ull, Njord (Nerthus), Skade, Härn, e. g. Ulleråker, Naerdevi. A few of these deities are mentioned in the famous Icelandic Edda, where, however, the different gods and goddesses are united into an Olympian society under Odin's leadership. This Icelandic Pantheon was largely a creation of learned »scalds», and was also to some extent influenced by Christian teaching. It never existed in the consciousness of the people, and some of the deities are simply personifications of various abstract qualities. During one period one particular deity was singled out for special worship, during another period allegiance was transferred to some other god. The worship of Njord was especially marked during the »Roman iron age», while the cult of Odin must be attributed to continental influence during the folk-wanderings. The worship of Thor, the god of thunder, probably went back further than that of most deities, but persisted nevertheless through the ages. Thor's weapon, the axe or hammer called Miölnir, became a heathen symbol, and was worn as an amulet.

Owing to the widespread intercourse between nations during the Viking age, the Scandinavians were early brought into contact with triumphant Christianity. In the year 829 a Swedish delegation is said to have arrived at the court of Louis the Pious, who on that occasion obtained leave to send Christian missionaries to Sweden. The Carlovingian emperors, being both zealous Christians and practical poli-

ticians, regarded missionary work in the North as highly important. They hoped, by Christianizing the fierce Northmen, to avert their devastating onslaught, which spared neither churches nor monasteries. Louis therefore availed himself of the given concession and sent a monk from Corbey, called Ansgarius, to Sweden. Ansgarius made Birka his head-quarters, and this flourishing trading community on an island in Lake Mälar became a missionary centre, where the first Swedish church was erected. The kings put no obstacles in the way of the missionaries, and the people showed themselves tolerant, so long as the priests did not challenge their religious feelings by unwise zeal. This early missionary enterprise, directed by the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, was now and again interrupted by heathen reaction, or by a scarcity of Christian teachers. It did not produce any lasting results, for Sweden seems to have remained a heathen country throughout the tenth century.

A more important factor in the Christianization of Sweden than this ninth century German mission, was the increasing number of Swedes who, while residing abroad as soldiers or merchants, had become converts to the Christian faith. An old Gottland Chronicle points to this reason as the chief one for erecting churches in this prosperous island: »Though the Gottlanders were heathen, they sailed with merchandise to all countries, both Christian and heathen. Then the merchants saw Christian customs in Christian countries and some were baptized and brought priests to Gottland.» Botvid, »the apostle of Södermanland» in central Sweden, is said to have been converted to the true faith during a business journey to England. The Anglo-Saxon Church, having made many proselytes amongst Scandinavians living in England, seems to have exercised a greater influence than any other in Chri-

stianizing Sweden. The English missionaries concentrated their efforts in Västergötland, and there gained their first noteworthy success: King Olof was baptized on the royal estate of Husaby. This was a hard blow to heathendom, for the Christian king could no longer take part in the sacrifices at Uppsala. Olof seems therefore to have moved his residence to Västergötland, where a missionary bishop began his ministry. Olof persevered nevertheless in his endeavours to convert the Suiones to the new faith. He founded the city of Sigtuna in a bay of Lake Mälar. As Birka a short time before had been destroyed, Sigtuna inherited Birka's traditions as a centre, both of commerce and of missionary enterprise. Olof also invited English minters to settle in Sigtuna, and the coins they stamped were the first which are known with certainty to have been issued in Sweden.

The English mission left a deep mark in the early Swedish Church. Several particularly English saints, e. g. St. Alban, St. Botulf, St. Dunstan, became objects of worship, and a number of ecclesiastical terms, such as *kristendom* (christendom), *skrift* (shrift), *kalk* (chalice), were borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon Church. The successes of the English missionaries stirred the Germans to fresh enterprise. The Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen set assiduously to work to get the young Swedish Church incorporated in the great North-German diocese, and in the end Sweden, like Denmark and Norway, came under their jurisdiction. The adherents of the old heathen faith stood helpless before the efficient organization of the Catholic Church, and their ranks became more and more depleted. Christ was the victorious God, and the once heathen warriors joined his conquering hosts, deserting the temples of the old gods who no longer seemed to bring good luck to their worshippers. The commandment that the convert should worship no

other gods beside the only true God, made it necessary for him to break with all his former beliefs. But his inbred polytheism found expression in the adoration of saints: as he had appealed to Frey to avert bad harvests, and to Thor to give prosperity in wedlock, so he now prayed to different saints according to his varied needs. In heathen times the image of Frey had been carried in procession round the fields at Uppsala to ensure good crops. During the middle ages the shrine of St. Eric was brought to the same fields, and churches were erected by Christian kings and freemen *(bönder)* on the sites of the old temples. Now and again a reaction set in, but towards the end of the twelfth century, the heathen faith had followers only in the outlying districts.

The Viking age was ended by the victory of Christianity, and by a cessation of Scandinavian expansion. After the Norman conquest of England, Viking raids and also peaceful emigration to this country ceased. The wild attacks on Christian continental states were given up largely as a result of missionary work, and the restless Viking spirit found an outlet in »crusades» against heathen neighbours. The schismatic Greek Church established in Russia was naturally antagonistic towards Roman Catholicism which reigned supreme in Sweden, and Swedish intercourse with the Slavonicized Russian daughter state weakened. Towards the end of the tenth century the eastern trade of the Swedes began to decline, since the Oriental trade routes were interfered with by fresh racial displacements. Trade with Russia proper continued, but fell into the hands of the thrifty Gottlanders. A new era was dawning, with new ideals and new problems. About 1060 the ancient Yngling dynasty died out, and this date has therefore been fixed as a landmark between the ancient and the medieval history of Sweden.

Our knowledge of the Swedish Viking age is compara-

tively one-sided: the information we possess throws light only on certain of its aspects. These centuries were characterized by a powerful expansion, both aggressive and peaceable, but it does not therefore follow that they were lacking in vigorous internal development. The main features of the social order that we find in the early middle ages must without doubt have been formed in previous ages, and should in a large measure be ascribed to the Viking age. The dearth of historic sources makes it often hard to differentiate between the achievements of the various epochs of ancient and medieval history. We will therefore postpone an account of these social conditions till a later period, when the preserved documents, especially the laws, give us a clear picture of Swedish communal life.

THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

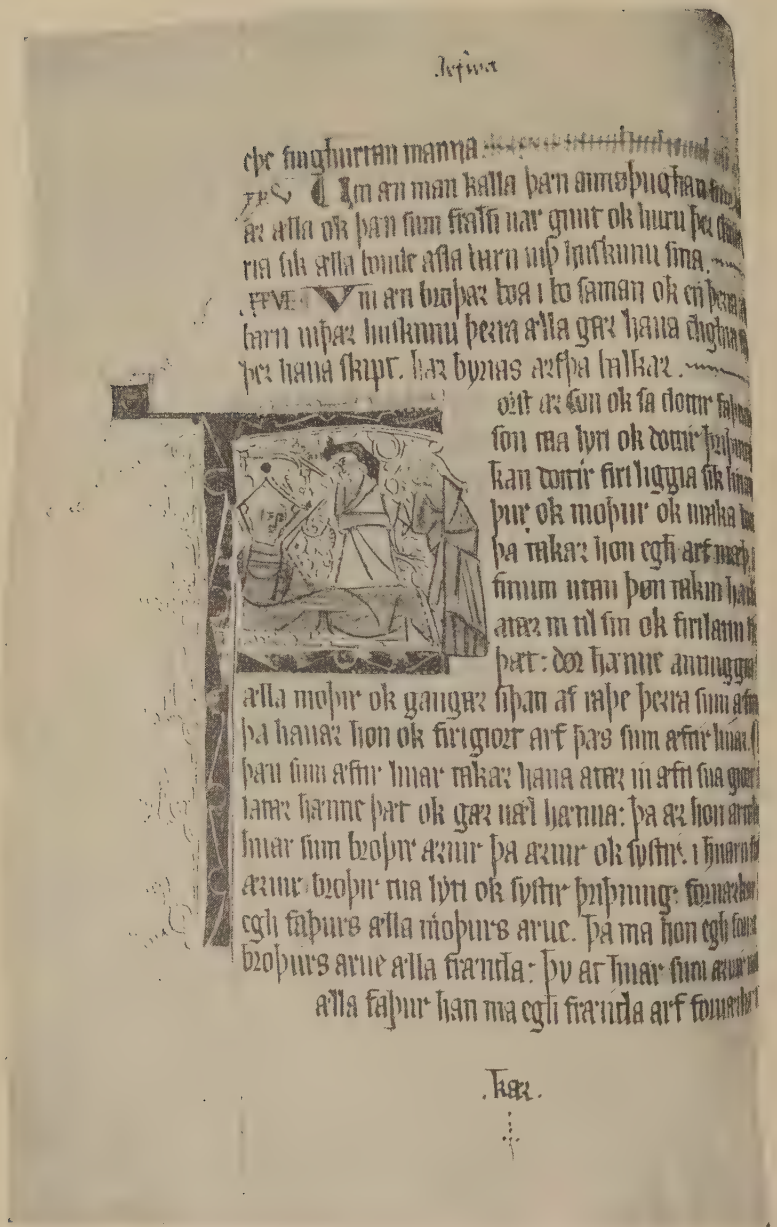
THE SWEDISH HISTORY of the middle ages is divided into three epochs of essentially different character. The first period, the Early Middle Ages — from about 1060 to 1250 — was a time of transition between old and new, when incessant struggles between rival dynasties often threatened the unity of the state. The Church was organized, but in other respects the Swedish community retained its primitive Germanic character. Only during the second period, called after the reigning dynasty the Folkung Age (1250—1389), did the strong influence of continental culture begin to permeate Swedish society. The third period has been called the Age of Union (1389—1521) because of the repeated efforts to unite the three Scandinavian countries in one large state under the leadership of Denmark. These attempts gave rise in Sweden to a strong national reaction, which after temporary setbacks finally culminated in the destruction of the union and the establishment of the national Vasa dynasty on the throne of Sweden. The weakening of the power of the great nobles, the fall of the Roman Catholic Church, and the creation of a new and powerful monarchy mark the beginning of the modern era, and make the third decade of the sixteenth century the most important milestone in Swedish history.

Adequate sources for the political history of the early middle ages are lacking. Some lists of kings and short an-

nals, a few solitary documents, legends of saints and occasional notices in foreign chronicles comprise the scanty material from which to reconstruct the history of this epoch. While contemporary Danish and Norwegian chronicles give vivid accounts of wars and dynastic struggles, Swedish sources furnish only a blurred picture of this restless and dramatic period. Dim forms of kings appear and disappear, but little is known about them beyond their names. The first medieval king, Stenkil, who was elected after the Yngling dynasty became extinct about 1060, belonged — unlike his predecessors — to a family from Götaland (Gothia), and his family estates were chiefly situated in Västergötland (West Gothland). His kinship with the old dynasty and his zeal for Christianity were probably contributary causes to his election. During the reign of Stenkil and his descendants political power seems to have gravitated towards the Christianized southern provinces. In Svealand heathendom put up a last desperate fight against the new faith. Stenkil supported missionary work in every way, but he did not favour precipitate action, and successfully resisted the projects to destroy the still existing temple in Uppsala. Later dynastic fights reveal that the heathen population was still a political factor to be reckoned with. Stenkil's son, Inge the elder, by his Christian zeal stirred up a violent heathen reaction, during which the Svear (Suiones) chose a heathen king and murdered the English missionary, Eskil. Inge fled, but returned after a few years and conquered his antagonist. This shortlived heathen reaction towards the end of the eleventh century seems to have been the last. The temple in Uppsala was destroyed and a cathedral built in its place, an outward sign of the fall of heathendom.

After a period of dynastic strife when different provincial centres often showed separatistic tendencies, a new dynasty came to the throne (about 1130) in the person of

Map of the old Swedish main provinces during the middle ages. (The most northerly part of Sweden is not included. Of the now Swedish provinces Skåne, Halland and Blekinge then belonged to Denmark, Viken (now Bohuslän) to Norway. Cities which are underlined are cathedral towns.)



Page from the provincial law of Östergötland (from the fifteenth century) dealing with the law of inheritance.

Sverker, a great noble from Östergötland (East Gothland). Sverker married the widow of one of the previous kings, Ulvhild, whose story is woven into many romantic legends, and this marriage no doubt strengthened his claims. The new king was an ardent founder of monasteries, and supported the attempts to place the young Swedish Church on a firmer basis. He was murdered about 1155 at Alvastra, where he generally resided and where he had built a Cistercian monastery. His death was the signal for the beginning of a struggle, lasting for nearly a century, between two rival dynasties. A nobleman from the Mälar provinces, Eric, who like Sverker was related to the Stenkil dynasty, seized the throne. Little is known about his life, except that he went on a crusade against the heathen Finns, whom he forced to become Christians at the point of the sword, and that after a few years' reign he was killed in Uppsala by a Danish prince, while on his way from church. This fact seems to have been the chief reason why the people soon after his death began to worship him as a saint. His bones were enshrined in Uppsala Cathedral and became an object of veneration. »St. Eric» eventually became the patron saint of Sweden, and during the wars of independence against Denmark, he was depicted as the ideal Swedish-born king. The old laws were often called »the laws of St. Eric», and »the time of good St. Eric» became in legend and popular belief a »golden age», when freedom and justice were maintained. The image of the saintly king, a young knight carrying the sword and banner of the realm, was set up in the churches, a symbol both of Swedish medieval hero-worship and of a dawning nationalism.

The descendants of Eric and of Sverker fought during six decades for the possession of the crown and of the royal domains. The result of these civil wars was that until 1250 the kings belonged alternately to the house of Sverker and

the house of Eric. Sverker's son Charles captured the crown after Eric's death but was murdered in Visingsö castle (1267) by Eric's son Knut (Canute), a king of remarkable ability. During his reign Sweden enjoyed peace for nearly 30 years, and many important developments took place in the country. Sverker's dynasty received support from Denmark, and after Canute's death in 1196, Charles's son, Sverker the younger, ascended the throne. In spite of his conciliatory attitude towards the Church, he did not succeed in consolidating his power, and in 1208 he was driven into exile by Canute's son Eric, who had a strong following in the country, and received support also from Norway. Two years later Sverker returned at the head of a Danish army but fell in battle. After this there was a lull in the clash of arms. Eric, son of Canute, was probably the first king to be crowned in Sweden. He died a natural death (1216), as did his two successors, Sverker's son John (d. 1222) and Eric's son Eric (d. 1250). The last two kings died without male heirs, and the disastrous wars between the two dynasties came to an end.

During the reigns of the latter kings the *jarl* (»earl») seems to have been the actual ruler. He belonged generally to one of the most influential noble families and, as commander of the *leding* (navy, p. 23) he was the chief officer of the crown. Certain royal domains and revenues in the maritime provinces *(Roden)* were attached to his office. During these dynastic wars, the *jarls* often decided the issue by supporting one or the other of the two claimants, and in spite of the changes in the dynasty they were able to uphold their authority. The position of *jarl* can be most nearly compared with that of Mayor of the Palace in the Merovingian state. Already during the reign of the powerful king Canute, the *jarl* — then Birger Brosa of the Folkung family — seems to have possessed influence equal to that

of a vice-regent. The Folkungs were natives of Östergötland (East Gothland) where many of the larger estates of the family were situated. From the reign of Canute the *jarls* almost invariably belonged to the Folkung family, whose various members often held some of the most important bishoprics and judicial appointments (e. g. *lagman* or »lawman»). By intermarrying with the reigning dynasty the *jarls* still more strengthened their own influence. When the last king belonging to Eric's dynasty died, his sister's son, Valdemar, was elected king. The election of this young Folkung depended above all on the fact that his father, Jarl Birger Magnusson, was the real ruler of the country.

* *
*

The perpetual struggle for the crown which marked this period, was mainly due to the fact that the king was elected from members of an hereditary royal family. According to law the king should be chosen on »Mora äng» (Mora meadow) near Uppsala by the assembled freemen of the three *Things* of Uppland — a survival from the time of small unconnected states — after which he was lifted up on a particular stone in the field and received the oath of allegiance from those present. He should afterwards ride *ericsgata* (a word of uncertain origin) in his kingdom, i. e. receive the oaths of allegiance from the other principal provinces. Delegates from the Uppland *Thing* followed the king to the borders of the neighbouring province, where he was met by a fresh escort. The delegates from Uppland announced that he was the elected king, thereby securing him free passage to the *Thing* of the other province. At the *Thing*, he received the oath of allegiance of the assembly and swore to keep the laws of the province. Afterwards he continued in like manner through the other main

provinces back to Uppsala. The election of the king at Mora did not proceed by voting but by acclamation; one of the members of the old dynasty was proposed by the leading men of the province, and the *Thing* sanctioned their proposal. As a rule a son of the late king was selected, but if he was a minor or otherwise unsuited for his high calling, another member of the dynasty might be preferred. When the Yngling dynasty died out, there ceased to be a definite house from which candidates were chosen. The situation became worse when two Swedish dynasties claimed equal rights to the kingdom. Both regarded the extensive royal domains as their family heritage and could only by force of arms be made to surrender these estates to the elected king if he belonged to the rival dynasty. It is evident that the ancient rules of election had already become empty formalities. The actual choice of king was made by confederations of great nobles drawn from the whole country, and the formal election was merely a sanction of the decision made previously by the sword. Uppland and the other Mälar provinces no longer remained predominant. The kings seem generally to have resided in the provinces of Götaland, where they had their most powerful supporters.

The election proceedings described above were typical of the provincial separatism existing in the Swedish community during the early middle ages. Sweden had in fact more the character of a group of federated states than of a united kingdom. The different provinces also retained considerable self-government. Each province or *landskap* was a small country or *land* with a central *Thing* at which the *lagman* (»lawman») usually presided. The »lawman» was elected by the assembled *Thing*, and belonged generally to a family of great nobles or of a higher class of freemen. The office of lawman existed probably first

in Götaland and was introduced to Svealand at the beginning of the Christian era. The »lawman's» duties consisted in reciting from memory the law of the province. As he possessed special knowledge both of the law and of previous decisions, he proposed — and often actually decided — the judgments to be pronounced by the assembled *Thing*. The provinces were subdivided into small judicial units, called *härad* (= »district») in Götaland, and *hundare* (= »a number of people» cp. A. S. »hundred») in Svealand. These *Things*, which were presided over by special judges, probably heard most of the ordinary lawsuits, and they also decided local administrative questions, e. g. the equipment of *leding* ships or the upkeep of bridges. The right to make new laws belonged, however, exclusively to the central *Thing* of the province.

The laws of the different provinces were based on Germanic principles of justice. Originally they were handed down in the form of rhythmic prose, which facilitated the »lawman's» task of reciting them at the *Thing*. The law of one province only, the very ancient law of Västergötland, was committed to writing during the early middle ages. Other ancient provincial codes still in existence derive from the Folkung period. Nearly all Swedish provincial laws show signs of having been evolved while fairly primitive social conditions prevailed. The clan consciousness is very marked: in case of murder not only the nearest relatives of the deceased could claim compensation, but his whole clan. If the murderer could not himself pay the fine imposed, his clan was obliged to make up the deficiency. In such a case where the murderer would not redeem his crime by paying a fine, the family of the victim was entitled to avenge his death in blood. The law of Västergötland demanded a higher fine if the murdered man belonged to Götaland than if he came from other parts of the kingdom

— there again we find a characteristic expression of the prevailing provincial separatism. At first the duty of the community seems to have consisted in endeavouring to reconcile the contending parties so as to avoid bloodshed and strife. Then, however, misdeeds were looked upon as crimes against the peace which the community guaranteed to its members, and therefore a definite part of the fines was paid to the *härad* or *hundare* and to the king. If a man had been guilty of an unusually outrageous crime, the *Thing* might declare him an outlaw, that is, put him outside the protection of the law and concede the right to his enemies of avenging themselves with impunity. Nobody was imprisoned, but particularly serious crimes and also theft were punished by the death penalty.

The lawsuits at the *Thing* were conducted as public proceedings between the parties and were strictly formal. Originally the actual truth of the indictment was generally not examined, but one of the parties had to prove his case by oath if the evidence was obscure. This oath was corroborated by a certain number of »trusted men» who in their turn pledged themselves that they considered the accusation or the defence true. A considerable part of the rules of the law therefore deal with the right of taking an oath; in one instance the plaintiff, in another the defendant had the right to do so. Out of this curious institution of »trusted men» a jury was developed, which was not selected by the two parties but by the judicial authority, whose business it was to acquit or condemn the accused. Many barbaric legal customs still survived, e. g. the use of ordeal by fire as means of obtaining proof.

Originally, the king had little to do with the administration of justice in the different provinces, at least in Götaland. In the early middle ages, however, the king is said to have begun to hold special *Things* which administered

justice in a more expeditious manner, and it is also said that he revised judgments and even set them aside. The king acted as supreme judge and chief custodian of right within his kingdom — and in this capacity he became entitled to a portion of the fines.

It has been mentioned earlier that the king's revenue chiefly derived from the large royal domains *(Uppsala öd)*. Special resident officers managed these estates on the king's behalf, and they were also authorized to collect the king's portion of fines and to administer justice in certain cases. In Svealand these officers of the crown had the right to call certain *Things* and to assist in the election of judges. We find here an embryo of a future civil service, which in time to come was to put considerable limits to local self-government. The king's expenditure was still comparatively insignificant and the taxes were few. The opportunity of levying the most remunerative tax arose when the *leding* fell into decay. Instead of calling out the *leding* every year as of old, the king often relieved the population from their duty of supplying well equipped and manned ships, and exacted as a tax the articles and provisions which they had previously been required to provide.

The *leding* nevertheless continued to be the chief instrument of Swedish ascendancy and the king's navies still proudly sailed the Baltic. Now as before these expeditions were directed mainly towards the non-Germanic peoples further east, who, with the exception of the schismatic Russians, were still heathens. The Swedish expeditions therefore took the form of »crusades». Not only were the heathen inhabitants obliged to pay tribute but they were also forced to become Christians. The early crusades were directed towards Finland, the one led by St. Eric in the middle of the twelfth century being the first to be definitely recorded. Others proceeded to Esthonia, where,

however, the Swedes soon were superseded by the Danes and by the German Knights of the Order of the Sword. In the southwest of Finland the Swedes began to build churches, and small forts were erected in order to defend the mission and the conquered territory. Swedish rule was not always easy to maintain, and the missionary work was occasionally interrupted by a revival of heathenism, but in spite of this, the Swedes persevered in their venture of expansion. In 1249 Jarl Birger Magnusson considerably increased the Swedish possessions by subduing the warlike Tavastian tribes. Swedish colonization took place in the newly acquired districts, though the Finnish population does not seem to have been expelled from the soil or treated as serfs bereft of their natural rights. The Swedish conquest became a means of enlightenment, for the primitive Finnish tribes were now brought into contact with western civilization and Germanic social conditions. The conquest of eastern Finland was prevented by the Russians. The Swedes waged war also against them, but with less success. An attack on the mouth of the Neva was beaten off by Grand Duke Alexander Newski (1240). These eastern crusades and wars of aggression represented the most important developments of early Swedish medieval foreign policy. Minor wars with Norway and Denmark, which often supported different Swedish pretenders, occurred now and again, but did not lead to any material alterations of boundaries.

The eastern crusades, typical of the primitive Christianity which had found its way to Sweden, showed that the Swedes now regarded themselves as part of Latin Christendom. Christ was their supreme Lord, and as his followers they felt in duty bound to extend his kingdom and crush his enemies. The bishops also took part in these crusades as warrior chiefs, and in normal times they rode abroad in the country, surrounded by bodyguards of armed knights.

Like the »lawmen» they were primarily leaders of the people. The law of Västergötland decreed that a bishop should be »the son of a freeman» *(bonde)*. Before he was appointed, the people, i. e. laity and clergy proposed a suitable candidate to the king, who invested him with the episcopal staff and ring and placed him on the bishop's throne in the cathedral. The archbishop, as representative of the Church, only performed the subsequent consecration. Learning was not essential in order to become a bishop. It was far more important to belong to an honoured and influential family. The inferior clergy also were elected by the people, and their privileges established by law, both their duties and their emoluments being carefully defined. Contrary to Canon Law, the priest was often married, and his office occasionally passed from father to son.

Soon after Sweden had adopted the Christian religion, the country was organized into separate dioceses. The oldest of these was Skara, comprising Västergötland and adjoining provinces. Others were Linköping in Östergötland and Växiö in Småland. The diocese of Sigtuna in Svealand was founded at an early date but was transferred to Uppsala at the beginning of the twelfth century. The cathedral was built on the site of the demolished heathen temple. To the diocese of Uppsala belonged Uppland and the narrow seaboard extending far to the north along the Gulf of Bothnia. The rest of Svealand contained two sees, Strängnäs and Västerås, the former being the place of assembly of the principal *Thing* of Södermanland, the latter constituting the centre of Västmanland. The conquered Finnish territory later on became a special diocese, with Åbo as its cathedral city. Until 1103 Sweden was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishop of Hamburg—Bremen, but in that year a new archbishop was enthroned in the Danish city of Lund, with authority over the three

Scandinavian countries. This Danish supremacy in church matters was greatly resented in Sweden and was before long abolished. A separate Swedish archbishopric was instituted in 1164, the primacy being attached to the see of Uppsala.

Compared with the prelates of the continent, the Swedish bishops were at first neither wealthy nor powerful, a few estates only being allocated for their maintenance. Their cathedrals, built in Romanesque style, showed artistic influence from southern culture, but were comparatively small and simple. Soon, however, the position both of the bishops and of the Church was improved. The pope having vindicated, in his struggle with the emperor, the independence of the Church and her right to self-government, now began to interfere in the affairs of the Swedish Church, asserting that he and not the king should appoint the bishops. Cathedral Chapters were set up during the latter part of the thirteenth century, and from that time laymen ceased to have a voice in the election of bishops, this privilege now passing to the Chapters. The clergy were definitely forbidden to marry, and a higher standard of education was introduced. Canon Law was enforced in the Church from about 1250, though in many cases the clergy were still obliged to appear before lay courts. These reforms were introduced mainly through the efforts of the Papal Nuncio William of Sabina. At a convocation in Skenninge (1248) William succeeded in persuading the lords spiritual and temporal to accept a considerable number of the demands of the Curia. By the introduction of tithes, a large income was ensured to the Church, the bishops and other clergy becoming independent of the good will of the laity. Another important point was decided, i. e. the right of the Church to own land. This claim had long been opposed by the people, who inherited the traditional Germanic view that land was

the inalienable property of the clan. In the end, the king exempted from taxation such estates as the Church should acquire, and he further exempted the clergy from being tried in criminal cases by temporal courts. These royal concessions met, however, with vigorous opposition and did not become completely effective until the Folkung age. Papal supremacy in Sweden was by this time formally recognized by a tax paid to the pope, one penny being contributed every year by each household in the country. This tax, the so-called Peter's pence, had probably already been introduced in 1152, when Nicholas Breakspear, a cardinal of English birth, presided over a large convocation in Linköping.

Several Swedish monasteries were founded during this period, in most cases endowed by members of the royal families. The oldest monasteries, e. g. Alvastra, Varnhem, Gudhem and Vreta, belonged to the Cistercian order, and in their abbeys many of the royal benefactors found their last resting places. The Friars began to build their houses before the middle of the thirteenth century. Unlike the older orders, the Friars settled in the cities. Monasteries were of great importance for the advancement of civilization. The first Swedish libraries were housed under their roofs, while the monks also provided the earliest instruction in booklearning.

The vigorous development of the Church gave rise to a new class, distinct from the secular population, and also within the ranks of the laity there were signs of a social gradation. From the mass of freemen had arisen a class of nobles, who by birth and the possession of large estates were able to exercise considerable political influence. They often took sides in dynastic feuds, many a king owing his ascendancy to the great nobles and their armed retainers. The king frequently summoned the nobles and bishops in

order to consult with them regarding affairs of state and to obtain their approval before making important decisions. Many »lawmen» and bishops belonged to this class of nobles, and originally also the royal families themselves.

The majority of the inhabitants, however, were freemen living in organized village communities. The old laws give us a very vivid picture of the social life and daily occupations of this class. The homesteads of the different households, grouped closely together, formed the centre of such a village community. They were surrounded by cultivated fields, divided up between the villagers, and beyond the fields lay the common grazing land and forests. The arable land belonging to each freeman consisted of several small strips separated one from the other and therefore the farming was done collectively. The whole village ploughed, sowed and reaped at the same time and in all important matters appears to have consulted together and acted as a corporate body. The freeman was firmly rooted in the old village and was very reluctant to move his dwelling. But as his holding was often too small to support all the grown-up sons and their families, large uncultivated tracts of land were laid under the plough. Opportunities of going abroad to find employment as Viking or mercenary soldier had greatly diminished — a circumstance which undoubtedly intensified the energetic clearing work in progress in the thinly inhabited forest areas. Investigations in place-names have furnished tangible proofs of the rate with which these medieval settlements sprang up. Many villages in the forest districts have names ending in *torp* (»farm of a settler») or *ryd* (»clearing»). The first syllable consists generally of a Christian name from the early middle ages, and in this way we are informed also of the name of the man who first broke new ground in that village. This subjugation of the untamed forest represents the greatest achievement — though the least

known — of the Swedish people during the early middle ages.

It would be misleading to think that the Swedish countryside was inhabited only by freeholders. Numerous estates owned by the king or by the bishops and nobles were either tenanted by freemen or managed by bailiffs. Occasionally servants and also serfs were kept on the farms. As a result of Christian influence, the position of the serfs greatly improved. They were emancipated in increasing numbers, and the old custom of keeping serfs was beginning to be looked upon as unworthy of a Christian. The serf class was consequently so reduced that it had almost ceased to exist when serfdom was abolished by the king in 1335.

During the middle ages, Swedish townships grew up with a special town population. Among trading centres on the mainland, probably only Sigtuna and Kalmar deserved the name of cities, others seem to have remained insignificant. From the point of view of trade, the early middle ages were without doubt a retrograde period, in comparison with the Viking age. The lucrative transit trade between East and West no longer passed through Sweden, and only native products were exported. The Baltic island of Gottland, a free community paying tribute to Sweden, managed, however, to retain and even to extend its Russian commerce, entirely superseding the Swedes from the mainland in this trade. The Gottland merchants had their own trading quarters in Novgorod, and fetched goods both from Novgorod and Smolensk, selling these goods in Slesvig, Saxony, the Netherlands and England. The whole island was inhabited by thrifty freeholders, who were also enterprising traders. Lofty parish churches of stone, erected during the first centuries of the middle ages, still bear witness to the wealth of these Gottlanders. When the Germans, in the middle of the twelfth century, had penetrated to the

Baltic, and created in Lübeck a flourishing trading centre, they began to visit Gottland in great numbers. They settled in Visby, one of the ports of the island, and before long Visby became the largest and mightiest city in the Baltic. In order to safeguard their common interests, the German merchants formed a guild, the »Company of Gottland travellers», which soon developed into a dangerous rival of the Gottland traders, competing with them specially for the lucrative Russian trade. This company grew more powerful as it was converted into a federation of cities participating in the Baltic commerce. Visby, inhabited largely by Germans, became the leading city of this »Hansa», and a meeting place for its governing body. The German merchants resident in Visby formed a special guild, which governed the German settlement in Gottland. From Visby came for instance the German merchants who founded Riga, the flourishing port of Livonia. About 1170 a trade agreement was concluded between Henry the Lion of Saxony and King Canute of Sweden. This would seem to indicate the existence of considerable commerce between Sweden and Germany. German merchants soon began to migrate into Swedish cities, and seem to have been resident in Kalmar already at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

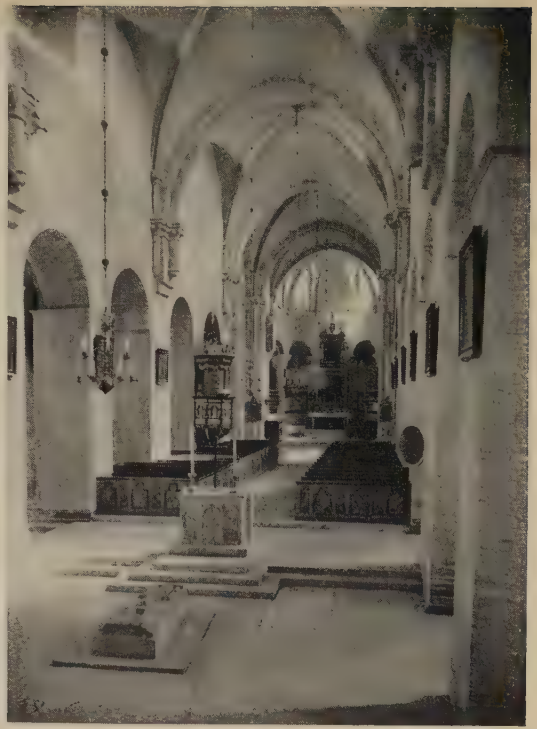
German penetration to the Baltic coast, and the increasing German trade are obvious signs that Baltic predominance had changed to Sweden's disadvantage. Her position as a great maritime power had come to an end, her commerce ceased, and on the southern shores of the Baltic she was confronted by Germans, far more enterprising and highly cultured than the former uncivilized and weak Slav inhabitants. Not even the more powerful Denmark, which was passing through a time of shortlived glory, could offer effective resistance to the German advance, but was forced

to give up the conquests she had made from the Slavs. A new rival power had arisen in the North, and this fundamental change in the political geography of the Baltic countries was to exercise a decisive influence on Scandinavian history during the coming centuries.

THE FOLKUNG AGE.

MORE THAN ANY OTHER PERIOD in Swedish history the Folkung age may be called truly medieval. Not till then did Sweden enter into close relationship with contemporary European culture and become an integral part of the body politic of Europe. The power of the king increased, and he was therefore better able to intervene in the judicial, legislative and administrative activities of the country. The structure of the whole Swedish community was rebuilt after continental models. The division into *län* or fiefs broke up the old provinces *(landskap)*, creating new administrative areas. The old nobility developed more and more into a class of warriors and crown officials, and as the cities grew in size and importance, the class of burgesses came into existence. At the same time the privileges of the Church were steadily increasing, and with them her economic and political influence. Unfortunately, this radical transformation was too rapid, and led to a weakening of the central power. This resulted in sectional strife, which in the end left Sweden an easy prey to the eagerly expanding Germans. Therefore the last decades of the Folkung era were also the beginning of a time of national retrogression, which was checked only during the fifteenth century by a vigorous national movement for Swedish independence.

Chapel of the Bridgittine order at Vadstena. It was built according to instructions given by St. Birgitta, 1370—1430.



The Abbey of Varnhem Cistercian Monastery (in Västergötland), erected about 1250 by Jarl Birger whose tomb is visible in the foreground. Romanesque style.

Interior of Uppsala Cathedral, the most important example of Gothic architecture in Sweden. It was constructed mainly during the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century after French models.

The outstanding personality dominating the early part of the Folkung age was the great Jarl Birger Magnusson. During the later years of the reign of the last feeble descendant of St. Eric's dynasty (p. 35) he had been the actual ruler, and leader of the Swedish policy of eastward expansion. After King Eric's death (1250) Birger's eldest son, Valdemar, and not the Jarl himself, was elected king. Valdemar was closely related to the old dynasty, for his mother was King Eric's sister. He was still a young boy, and therefore his powerful father acted as regent. Birger upheld the supremacy of the Folkung dynasty against rebellious confederations of great nobles, punishing their leaders without mercy. He set out, systematically, to build up a strong government, and his national laws have long been regarded as his greatest achievement. Up till that time, the king had seldom exercised legislative powers, the sole right to institute new laws belonging to the provincial *Thing* assemblies. In consequence, the statutes of the various provinces differed widely from each other, and the conservative provincial codes retained a number of antiquated and cruel regulations. The new regent found a way — without usurping the legislative prerogative of the *Things* — to carry through the adoption of new statutes which should apply to the whole country. The *jarl* called the most influential nobles to meetings where they agreed to enforce certain regulations, which they themselves swore to obey and defend. The various nobles afterwards managed to get the new statutes approved by the provincial *Things,* and in this way the *jarl's* proposals became actual statute laws. These laws were above all intended to safeguard the right of personal security. A man who committed acts of violence at the meeting place of the *Thing*, in church, in another person's house, or against a defenceless woman, became an outlaw, not only

in his own province but in the whole kingdom. His estates were confiscated, and he could regain his legal rights only if the injured party petitioned the king on his behalf, and if he was able to pay a large sum in fines to the Crown. The king or his representatives judged these crimes at special *Things,* and in the course of time, new categories of criminal offences were brought within the scope of this special jurisdiction. Birger also introduced other legal reforms: he abolished the ordeal by fire as a means of obtaining proof; he prohibited individuals from giving themselves as serfs of their own free will (a last resort to which people were often driven on account of poverty); finally, he extended women's rights of inheritance.

As regards foreign politics the rule of the great *jarl* was particularly important because of the increasing strength of the nation and the growing intercourse between Sweden and North Germany. The *jarl* acted as mediator between Norway and Denmark, and seems to have made great efforts to bring about a good understanding with Norway, often arranging meetings with the Norwegian king. More important still were Birger's negotiations with Lübeck and Hamburg. The influence of these North-German cities on Baltic commerce was steadily increasing. A minor conflict with Lübeck in 1251 led to diplomatic discussions between Sweden and the Hanseatic city. A former trade agreement was ratified, with certain amendments. The most important of these was a regulation that any person from Lübeck who settled in Sweden, should obey the law of the land, and be called »Swedish». This clause was inserted in the agreement because German merchants often settled down for months at a time in a Swedish trading centre, and by virtue of their privileges pleaded exemption from the duties devolving on native merchants. Birger was endeavouring to foster Swedish commerce and city develop-

ment by encouraging thrifty German merchants and craftsmen with substantial capital to settle in Sweden. At the same time he wished to prevent these Germans from forming semi-autonomous business colonies — as they had already done in Gottland, Norway and England — which in case of conflict with the Swedish authorities could rely on support from the German cities.

This trade policy proved to be of the utmost importance for the development of Swedish city communities. From this period, a vigorous German settlement can be traced in Swedish cities, while foreign trade made a big stride forward. Stockholm, which as a city seems to have been founded on Birger's initiative, became a centre of this German-Swedish commerce. Owing to the favourable position of Stockholm at the junction of Lake Mälar and the Baltic, the city rapidly grew in power and influence and before long became the largest in the kingdom. Birger also built a well fortified castle in Stockholm, which afterwards was used by the Swedish kings as their principal residence and as a defence for the Mälar provinces.

Although Birger acted only as regent for his son Valdemar, he took precautions that his three younger sons should be provided for after his death. In his decision to give them principalities as fiefs he may have been influenced by the highly developed feudal system on the continent. Birger's second son, Magnus, was created »Duke of Sweden», a dignity intended to replace the old office of *Jarl;* another son, Bengt, became »Duke of Finland». The dukes do not seem to have come into possession of their fiefs until Valdemar, after his father's death in 1266, took charge of the government. There soon arose violent dissensions between the brothers, especially regarding their inheritance and the conditions of tenure of the fiefs, and these quarrels led to open war. The struggle was now

and again interrupted by various attempts at mediation, but it ended finally by Valdemar's defeat in 1275. He was imprisoned by Magnus and forced to abdicate. One reason for Magnus' victory was that Valdemar had lost the respect of the whole country by committing a grave crime of immorality, which he had tried to redeem by making a pilgrimage to Rome.

Magnus, who was now elected king, had inherited much of his father's genius as a statesman, and his reign is one of the most epoch-making in Swedish history. During the first four years of his reign his throne was often threatened. Valdemar had not given up hope of regaining his crown, and tried to get support both from Norway and Denmark. A Danish attack, a serious rebellion of great nobles, and numerous efforts by foreign mediators, forced Magnus to make concessions to his brother's advantage. Soon afterwards he revoked them, and Valdemar himself gradually lost his remaining adherents by his reckless and scandalous mode of life. During his struggle for the crown, Magnus had tried to enlist the support of the Swedish Church. He extended her exemption from taxation, and entitled the bishops to such fines as the courts might impose on laymen living on the estates of the Church. Magnus was further a generous benefactor of the various cathedrals. His endowments aided the institution of chapters and made it possible for the bishops to replace their small Romanesque churches by lofty Gothic cathedrals. Hence the Hierarchy became a close ally of the Crown. Magnus invited foreign, especially German, nobles to settle in Sweden, showing them special favour so as to receive support from them, and this caused considerable discontent amongst the Swedish nobility. These attempts may have been prompted — at least partly — by Magnus' ardent desire to come into contact with the culture of continental Europe.

Once in secure possession of the throne Magnus began a far-seeing domestic policy. He organized a native force of heavily armed cavalry to be in readiness at the king's bidding for the effective defence of the country. At an assembly of nobles, which he called at Alsnö Castle, 1279, he issued an ordinance, exempting each person from taxation who undertook, when called upon, to serve as Royal Knight. At first this service in the royal army seems to have been indirect. Those freeholders who did knight service and therefore were exempt from taxes should attach themselves to the bodyguard *(hird)* of some nobleman, and so increase his numbers. The great nobles themselves had especially to render aid in times of war. This newly constituted military service indicated that the *leding* institution was regarded as antiquated, and it also introduced a certain differentiation in the Swedish community. A class of professional warriors began to tower above the large mass of freemen, and in the front rank of this military caste stood a powerful nobility, which in consequence of the introduction of chivalry, was increasingly influenced by continental feudal culture.

From this aristocracy and from the Swedish hierarchy, the king chose his councillers. He organized (about 1280) a Royal Council *(Råd)* which, in the event of Magnus' death while his eldest son was still a minor, should act as a regency until he came of age. Bishops and »lawmen» were particularly well represented on the Council, with a view to facilitating local sanction to the Council's decisions. Magnus summoned this Council to discussions on affairs of state during his lifetime, and some of its members received special titles, such as *Kansler* (»Chancellor»), *Marskalk* (»Marshal») and *Drots* (»Steward»). Magnus seems to have been particularly interested in the administration of justice. He assiduously upheld his great father's »Peace

Laws», meting out severe punishment to those who defied the king's orders or conspired against the safety of the realm. In order to safeguard the country people from the coshery or »forcible quartering» of the nobles, he ordered that one special householder in each village should be at the service of the traveller and, for money, supply him and his company with food and drink. By making this provision, Magnus earned the name *Ladulås* (»Barn-lock») for he had put »a lock on the barn of the free-man».

Magnus seems also to have had the economic development of the country at heart. The oldest city charters still in existence were issued by him, evidently after continental models. The king instituted for each town a council as governing body, and, in order to concentrate commerce in the towns, he endeavoured to restrict trade in rural districts. Swedish foreign trade was greatly increased as a result of the rising prosperity of the Swedish mining industry. As German merchants had settled in the cities, so German miners now migrated into those Swedish provinces which possessed abundance of ore, large mines being opened up with Swedish and German capital. The richest and most important of these was the copper mine at Falun in Dalarna. Also iron mines, situated chiefly in Dalarna, Västmanland and Närke were started during this period. Magnus apparently took part in organizing the new industrial communities, upholding the prerogative rights of the Crown to the metal resources of the country.

The foreign policy of Magnus was consistently peaceful, and he maintained friendly relations with both Denmark and Norway. The suzerainty of the Swedish king over the practically self-governing island of Gottland was strongly insisted on during a sanguinary encounter between the city of Visby and rural Gottland. The mighty

Visby, entrenched behind her city wall, was forced to pay damages to Magnus and to undertake to refer all her future disputes with the country population in the island to the decision of the Swedish king.

* *
*

Magnus' active and successful reign was cut short by his sudden death in 1290. He had won the strong affection of his people and was buried in the Franciscan Abbey — now *Riddarholmskyrkan* — in Stockholm where the majority of Swedish kings have been laid to rest. Already during Magnus' reign his eldest son Birger had been elected king or heir to the throne. As Birger was only ten years old at his father's death, the Council, according to Magnus' provision, undertook the government during his minority. The leader of the Council was the able Marshal Torgils Knutsson, who for a long time was the actual ruler of Sweden. He revived the policy of eastward expansion by undertaking an expedition to eastern Finland, where he conquered part of the country occupied by the warlike Carelian tribes, erecting the Viborg fortress as a border defence against the Russians. From Viborg, the Swedes commanded the trade route to Novgorod, and the German cities were obliged to ask for special privileges in order to carry on their trade with Russia. The Swedes advanced as far as the mouth of the Neva but were not able to retain this territory for very long.

Less is known of the domestic policy of Torgils Knutsson and his fellow-councillors, but enough to prove that it was by no means lacking in enterprise. They upheld the supreme authority of the state, and opposed the demands of the Church for still greater privileges, creating, by their uncompromising attitude, somewhat strained re-

lations between the spiritual and temporal powers. The regency took a particularly important step forward as regards legislation, when they initiated the preparation of a common code of laws for the three ancient divisions of Uppland. This famous »Uppland Code» received royal sanction and exercised a profound influence on later provincial codes of Svealand. It contains a blending of old and new ordinances, and reflects clearly how — under pressure of new cultural influences — the primitive community is being gradually transformed.

Birger came of age on his marriage to the Danish Princess Märta, 1298, but Torgils continued to control the government. He presided (1302) over a fateful division of the estate inherited by Birger and his two younger brothers, Eric and Valdemar, who then came of age. The earlier provisions made for his sons by Jarl Birger were now repeated. Eric was appointed Duke of Sweden, and Valdemar Duke of Finland, special fiefs being attached to these dignities. This meeting was the first scene in a singularly eventful political drama, in which the highly gifted but unscrupulous Duke Eric was to play the leading part.

At first friendly relations prevailed between the two dukes and the king, who was entirely dominated by Torgils. The marshal tried to consolidate his powerful position by marrying his daughter to Valdemar and also by securing an undertaking from Birger that, except by his own free will, he should not be removed from his high office. He further procured the ownership of large domains belonging to the Crown, by arranging numerous exchanges of land. Soon, however, Torgils discovered a dangerous enemy in the ambitious Eric, whose dignity as Duke of Sweden entitled him to considerable political influence. Eric's position had been greatly strengthened by his betrothal —

at a meeting between the kings of Norway and Sweden — to the young Princess Ingeborg, elder daughter and heiress of King Haakon of Norway. Duke Valdemar also threw in his lot with Eric, and to the end remained his brother's inseparable companion and loyal supporter. The delicate situation was further complicated by Torgils' stubborn fight against the privileges of the Church, and by Eric's independent foreign policy, which threatened to endanger friendly relations with Denmark. Eric and Valdemar were forced to give an undertaking that they would no longer continue their dangerous diplomacy, but this only led to an open rupture.

We are comparatively well informed about the civil wars that now began in Sweden. Our chief source of information is the so-called *Erikskrönikan* (»Eric's Chronicle»), written about 1330 and based mainly on accounts furnished by the duke's supporters. With a few short intermissions the contest between the king and his brothers continued for fourteen years, sometimes one side, sometimes the other gaining the upper hand. The first encounter ended to the disadvantage of the dukes, although they had received help from Norway. Birger and Torgils, in alliance with the Danish king, overran Eric's fief, and after winning a decisive victory, forced the two brothers to complete surrender (in the winter of 1305). Eric, however, by his striking presence and winning personality, had secured a large following amongst the great Swedish nobles, and was in no mood to accept defeat. By pursuing a clever foreign policy, he built up a small state consisting of Danish and Norwegian possessions, in the vicinity of present-day Gothenburg, where he could easily get support from his Norwegian allies. With great cunning he instilled in Birger's mind a growing distrust of the marshal, intending thereby to make this formidable opponent harm-

less. He soon won Birger over to his scheme, and the three brothers together attacked Torgils while he was staying on one of his estates (1305). He was brought to Stockholm as a prisoner and executed. A short time before, his daughter's marriage to Valdemar had been dissolved.

The consequences of Birger's treachery soon appeared. With relentless energy Eric followed up his advantage. Barely six months after Torgils' execution, the dukes surrounded Birger on one of his domains and imprisoned him and the queen. They rapidly took possession of the whole country with the exception of a few fortresses. In spite of an attack by Birger's brother-in-law, Eric of Denmark, Duke Eric held his own, using his political shrewdness to the full and obtaining material help from Norway. At last he considered it more advantageous to come to an agreement with Birger. The imprisoned monarch was forced to complete surrender (March 1308): the few forts which he still held should be given up to the dukes, who were to decide, at their own discretion, which parts of the kingdom Birger should be allowed to retain. As soon as Birger had regained his liberty on these hard conditions, he fled to Denmark and restarted the war against his brothers. The outlook grew more promising for Birger when the king of Norway suddenly gave up Eric's cause and joined his enemies instead. The two dukes conducted an energetic campaign against Danish and Norwegian forces, but could not prevent a Danish army from invading their territory and besieging their castles. Again, however, Eric's diplomacy succeeded in dividing his enemies and persuading them to enter into peace negotiations. The three Scandinavian kings met the dukes in Helsingborg, then a Danish city, where a treaty of peace was concluded on favourable terms for the latter (in the summer of 1310). A fresh partition of Sweden was agreed upon, Birger regaining

certain provinces in the south and east, while the rest — the larger portion — was divided between the dukes.

Eric had now come into possession of the whole of western Sweden, and some adjacent Danish and Norwegian territory as well, but he was not content with these triumphs. His engagement to the Norwegian Princess Ingeborg had been broken off during the earlier feuds, but at last he brought her home as his bride (1312). Valdemar was at the same time married to Ingeborg's younger sister. By his marriage Eric had not only assured himself of a powerful ally, but, as Haakon had no sons, Eric had every prospect of one day coming into possession of Norway. His ambitious dreams promised to be fulfilled, when in 1316, Ingeborg bore him a son, Magnus, who according to the Norwegian law of succession was the nearest heir to his grandfather's throne.

Before long, however, the political situation was reversed. Birger had not forgotten the indignity he had suffered, and was only waiting for an opportunity to take revenge on his brothers. He realized that in the existing circumstances, his son would hardly have a chance of one day being elected ruler over the dismembered kingdom. In consultation with the queen and his chief adviser, John von Brunkow, he planned an effective counter-stroke against the dukes. Eric and Valdemar were in December 1317 invited to his castle at Nyköping, and there treacherously imprisoned. By giving up part of his possessions to the Danish king, Birger now tried to secure his help to conquer the dominions of his brothers. But all his plans miscarried. The great nobles rallied to the support of the dukes, and, reinforced by Norwegian troops, commenced hostilities against Birger. They won several important engagements, and Birger was compelled to take refuge in Gottland. His two brothers, however, never regained their liberty,

for, while their adherents were besieging Nyköping in the summer of 1318, they died in prison, probably from starvation. Their cruel death did not improve Birger's cause: before long his last strongholds were captured, his young son was taken prisoner, and, guiltless though he was, afterwards executed in revenge for his father's treasonable conduct towards the dukes. Birger himself spent his last years in exile, and died in Denmark, 1321.

* *
*

The fateful civil wars had at last come to an end, leaving the Swedish nobility as the final victors. Under their leader, Matthias Kettilmundsson, now appointed regent, they soon forced Denmark to conclude peace. The death of the dukes, and Birger's exile, made it possible to restore the unity of Sweden. The various attempts during Birger's reign to divide the country into feudal territories had resulted in disaster. The people suffered under heavy taxation, lawlessness had increased, and the authority of the king had become little more than nominal. In spite of the tragic fate of the principal actors in this Folkung drama, the outcome of the struggle was undoubtedly to Sweden's advantage. It now remained to elect a new Swedish king. The great nobles, mainly adherents of the ducal party, decided to place Eric's and Ingeborg's son, the three year old Magnus, on the throne, a regency being formed to carry on the government during his minority. A month later, May 1319, King Haakon of Norway died, and his small grandson Magnus inherited his crown. Magnus consequently was both elective king of Sweden and hereditary king of Norway, thus uniting two Scandinavian kingdoms under one sceptre. The Folkung dynasty bade fair to become the most powerful in northern Europe, and

another remarkable change had occurred in Scandinavian political history.

A Swedish-Norwegian union did not, however, come into being so long as Magnus was a minor, both Norway and Sweden being governed by their respective regencies. At a meeting in Oslo, June 1319, the great nobles of both countries decided that Magnus should live alternately in Sweden and in Norway. His mother, Ingeborg, a Norwegian princess by birth and a Swedish duchess by marriage, attempted to interfere in the government of both countries, trying to force her will on the councils. As her foreign policy threatened to endanger peace with Denmark — the conquest of Skåne being one of her chief aims — both councils agreed to separate her from participation in the government of either country. This point being settled, Sweden appears to have enjoyed a period of quiet recuperation. The regency, consisting of the chief nobles, seems to have studied the interests of the country. They concluded an advantageous peace with Russia in Nöteborg, 1323, which guaranteed to Sweden the possession of Torgils Knutsson's conquests. A vigorous reclaiming of land was begun in the almost uninhabited districts along the northern shores of the Gulf of Bothnia, extensive areas being brought under cultivation. Interest in legislative work was shown by the establishment of a new provincial code for Södermanland.

Magnus Ericsson therefore, when he took over the government in his two kingdoms at the age of 16, found Sweden peacefully progressive. The young king seems to have been very carefully educated and was strongly under the influence of contemporary legal theories. He had qualifications for becoming a ruler of note, but unfortunately the political situation at his accession was such that his foreign policy from the start was forced into a definite

channel. After the death of Eric Menved, Denmark had begun to disintegrate, and the central authority of the State was rapidly declining. German princes took advantage of Denmark's pitiable condition, and acquired several Danish provinces, ruthlessly oppressing the inhabitants. In Skåne, which had been mortgaged to a Count of Holstein, the population rose against the hated foreigners, and turned to the Swedish king, asking for help. In 1332 the Archbishop of Lund headed a deputation to Magnus, imploring him to take Skåne under his protection and become its ruler. Magnus at once responded to their petition, and marched with an army to assist the inhabitants. Instead of letting the issue be decided by armed force, Magnus preferred to make a peaceful agreement with the Count of Holstein, but he bought peace at a price: he undertook to pay in compensation for Skåne the then colossal sum of 34,000 marks in silver.

By the acquisition of Skåne in 1333, Magnus became king of the whole Scandinavian peninsula. His possessions extended from the Arctic Ocean to the Sound, and from the North Sea eastwards to Lake Ladoga. Though his dominions consisted of three separate kingdoms, each one with independent administration, he actually wielded the sceptre in this — according to medieval standards — unusually large state. The task of keeping this vast area together was almost superhuman, especially when political complications arose abroad or there were internal feuds at home in either of the three kingdoms. The acquisition of Skåne had disastrous effects on Magnus' foreign policy, for he was thereby compelled to watch the situation in Denmark so closely that he was prevented from giving sufficient attention to his interests in Norway and Sweden. Skåne was a wealthy and fertile country. The richest herring fishery in Europe was off its shores, and thousands

of Hanseatic merchants were tempted to the annual fairs in the flourishing cities of Skanör and Falsterbo. But this desirable land had been bought too dearly. As Magnus lacked ready money, he was forced to borrow large sums from the Church and from the great nobles. As securities he had to mortgage numerous Swedish castles, the exchequer thereby losing the revenue from these fiefs. Before long the Swedish finances were in a deplorable state, and the outwardly powerful monarch became the debtor of his own vassals and nobles. Magnus raised new taxes, and — often rashly — sold royal domains; but neither method could remedy the desperate financial situation, which cast a deep shadow over the whole of Magnus' later reign.

It seems as if Magnus himself had begun to realize the impossibility of retaining the three countries under one sceptre. Several revolts occurred in Norway, and the nobles expressed a wish to have a king of their own. Magnus met their wish, and his younger son Haakon was elected king of Norway in 1443, though Magnus was to act as regent until Haakon came of age. In the following year his elder son, Eric, was elected king of Sweden, i. e. heir to the Swedish throne. Magnus tried on the other hand to strengthen the union between Sweden and Skåne, working energetically to avert the increasing danger of a Danish attempt to reconquer the lost territory. Since 1338 the conditions in Denmark had changed in a remarkable degree. The indignation provoked by German tyranny found an outlet in several revolts, the national party obtaining a skilful leader in Prince Valdemar. A new day seemed to dawn for Denmark when Valdemar in 1340 was elected king. Magnus tried by negotiations to persuade Valdemar to recognize the severance between Skåne and Denmark, employing his brother-in-law, Duke Albert of Mecklenburg, as intermediary. Valdemar, faced with

grave difficulties and so far master only of a portion of his ancestral kingdom, was willing to recognize Magnus' acquisition of Skåne. He claimed, however, a considerable sum in compensation, thereby still further aggravating Magnus' financial troubles. Valdemar never intended this agreement to be permanent, but resolutely schemed to win back Skåne, time after time extracting fresh concessions and sacrifices from Magnus. His masterly foreign policy was cunningly supported by Duke Albert, in whom Magnus placed a disastrous confidence, which is difficult to understand. It would lead us too far to give a full account of the intricate negotiations, short-lived agreements and sudden conflicts, centering for two decades round the »Skåne question». The final result was that Magnus lost this rich country, which had cost him so dearly.

The opinions of Magnus' reign and personality have varied considerably. An early school of historical research has described Magnus as a pleasure-loving sybarite, neglectful of the good of his country, and taking advice from incompetent favourites. This conclusion was largely based on controversial and biassed pamphlets, circulated by the aristocracy for political purposes. Later and more objective research has revealed that Magnus, though not free from certain weaknesses and failings, was one of the most remarkable of Swedish medieval kings. In support of the latter view, historians have chiefly taken into account Magnus' unique contribution to Swedish legal development by continuing his grandfather's great work of state legislation. At various meetings he published important ordinances, by which he carried through a great number of vital administrative, social and juristic reforms. This legislation prepared the way for the gigantic work which more than anything else bears witness to Magnus' kingly achievements. Shortly before 1350 he appointed a committee with instruc-

1.

2.

3.

Architectural Monuments from Visby. 1. *Part of the city wall, erected during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.* 2. *The Cathedral of St. Maria, the church of the German Corporation of merchants in Visby, erected about* 1200. 3. *Merchant house in Visby from the thirteenth century.*

St. Birgitta.

Figure sculptured in wood from the end of the middle ages.

tions to prepare a national code to be enforced in all Sweden, with the exception of the cities. The juristic conditions in Norway had undoubtedly influenced Magnus, for a Norwegian national code of laws existed as early as 1280. In spite of some opposition from the Church, the new code was speedily completed. How large a share Magnus personally had in framing its clauses is impossible to decide; the great lords, both spiritual and temporal, serving on the law committee, must naturally have done most of the spade work. At the same time a general code was prepared for all the cities, large portions of it corresponding with the law for rural Sweden. This city code had a more immediate bearing on Stockholm, many of its clauses being drawn up in order to prevent the strong German business community from turning the Swedish burgesses out of the government of their city.

The new laws which began to be enforced about 1350, and by degrees supplanted the old provincial and city laws, afford the most striking evidence of the radical changes which took place in all the different aspects of Swedish life during the Folkung age. Also as regards style these laws reach a very high standard. The care and skill which went to formulate them had their reward, for »Magnus Ericsson's Common Law» continued to be in force until 1736. The first attempt to frame a Swedish constitution is embodied in these laws, in connection with the oaths which the king at his election exchanged with the people. It was insisted that Sweden should remain an elective kingdom, over which *one* king alone should rule. The king should not alienate the royal domains, nor the revenues of the state, of which he was only the administrator, nor must he allow Swedish territory to decrease. Members of the King's Council should be Swedish born, and foreigners should not have seats on this Council, or hold any castle

or fief of the realm. The king should not deprive any subject of life or property without previous judgment in court as prescribed by law. The king should only in certain definite cases have the right to impose new taxes, and then only in consultation with deputies from the different provinces. No new law should be approved without the sanction of the provincial *Things*. On their side the people undertook to be loyal and obedient subjects of the king and defend his realm.

The constitution briefly outlined above remained, however, only a political ideal, and — as will be concluded from subsequent events — was practically never put into force during the middle ages. It was nevertheless of great importance for the further development of Sweden into a constitutional state, for it established the ancient right of the people to tax themselves and to take part in legislation. The idea was now gaining ground that if the king broke his oath, the people were released from their duty of obedience, and this point of view gave a moral justification for the frequent national revolts which occurred during the later middle ages. The clause establishing Sweden as »a united and indivisible kingdom» was perhaps the most significant of all, revealing the beginning of the disappearance of the old provincial particularism. The credit of having created this feeling of unity among the Swedish people was above all due to the great rulers of the Folkung dynasty, and in a lesser degree to the aristocracy whose estates were scattered over the whole country, and no longer concentrated in any particular province. Unfortunately, the king and the great nobles often failed to cooperate with each other, and the Folkung period closed in a tragic and disastrous fight between the Crown and the aristocracy.

A unique representative of this powerful and overbearing nobility was St. Birgitta (Bridget). She was born about

1303 and belonged to one of the most influential Swedish families. Her father, the wealthy Birger Persson, was »lawman» of Uppland, and she was at an early age married to a young nobleman who later on also became a »lawman». As one of the great ladies of the country, she was at one time attached to Magnus Ericsson's court. Already as a child she had religious visions, and her life was from the beginning characterized by a rigorous piety. The decisive crisis in her life occurred in 1344, when her husband died after a pilgrimage they had made together to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. She began to see »visions» of Christ and the Virgin, during which she was transported almost beyond physical sensation, and it seemed to her that heavenly voices were addressing her. These revelations were afterwards written down by her father confessor, and translated into Latin. She speaks in no measured terms about the most burning political and religious questions of the day, regarding herself as a prophetess inspired by higher powers.

In one of her first visions Christ commanded her to found a new religious order which, unlike the existing rules, should comprise both men and women. With indefatigable energy Birgitta set to work to carry out this scheme. She received from King Magnus the royal estate of Vadstena, where she hoped to erect her foundation. It was, however, not easy to obtain the pope's sanction for the new order. Birgitta herself travelled to Rome, where she lived for twenty-three years, working unceasingly for the realization of her plans. At last she succeeded in gaining the Holy Father's approval, but only on condition that her rules were thoroughly revised. Not being accepted as an independent rule, the new »Order of St. Saviour» or Bridgittines was made subordinate to the greater rule of St. Augustine. Birgitta was only allowed to found one

monastery and one convent, but the rules of these were in their essentials formulated according to the wishes of the indomitable Birgitta. Some time afterwards she undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Though her body was frail and nearly worn out, she endured the hardships of the journey with her usual strength of mind, but on her return to Rome she passed away in 1373. Her intentions were energetically carried out by her daughter Catherine, and the new Cloister at Vadstena was dedicated eleven years after her death. Catherine also succeeded in getting the dual institution for men and women recognized. Before long Birgitta's order had spread to several other countries, e. g. Italy, England, Germany, Spain, Denmark and Norway. Birgitta herself was declared a saint, and solemnly canonized in 1391.

The feverishly active Birgitta was also keenly interested in politics. In her »revelations» she acted as the mouthpiece of the overbearing and ambitious nobles, abusing Magnus and his consort, Blanche of Namur. In spite of the king's generous gift to her foundation, she did not hesitate even to encourage her party to rebel against him. The chief reason for this bitterness was that the king, owing to the poverty of the country, was forced to restrict the financial privileges of the Church and of the nobility. Magnus was supported in this policy by the powerful Bengt Algotsson, who in a short time rose to an exceptionally influential position, being created duke by the king. This signal distinction roused intense hatred amongst his own class. Their feelings were shared by Eric, the heir to the throne, and, supported by the King of Denmark and the Duke of Mecklenburg, he took the lead in an aristocratic revolt against his father. Sweden was again in the throes of civil war, but a reconciliation was effected in the following year, when Magnus agreed to hand over a large portion

of his kingdom to Eric. This agreement was barely concluded when Eric again attacked his father and forced him to fresh concessions. Soon, however, the situation changed in favour of Magnus. In 1359 Eric succumbed to the plague, which ravaged Sweden as well as other European countries, causing terrible loss of life. Bereft of their leader, the aristocratic party was more readily subdued and Magnus seemed to be within sight of victory, when the political situation abroad suddenly grew threatening.

King Valdemar of Denmark, who had continuously worked for the eventual recovery of Skåne, now thought that his opportunity had come, and landed there with an army (1360). Negotiations were opened between the two kings, the Duke of Mecklenburg, again acting ostensibly as mediator, but actually playing into the hands of Valdemar. Magnus was prevailed upon to surrender the dearly bought province, which from that time remained an integral part of Denmark for more than three centuries. This easy victory only spurred Valdemar on to fresh attacks on his neighbour's territory. In the following year he sailed with a powerful fleet to Gottland, defeated the army of rural Gottlanders, and forced Visby to surrender. This famous city had already begun to decline, though it was still one of the most important trading centres of the Baltic. The conquest of Gottland, which since heathen times had been a Swedish dependency, clearly indicated that the relative strength of Sweden and Denmark was now reversed, the latter power having regained her former leading position.

The conquest of Visby was a challenge to the powerful Hansa, which entered a coalition with Sweden and Norway in order to reconquer Skåne and Gottland. This alliance was, however, soon broken up. Disputes arose between Magnus and his son Haakon of Norway, and when these

were settled, Haakon being recognized also as king of Sweden, Magnus was faced with another rebellion. The aristocracy, inspired by Birgitta, held Magnus responsible for the loss of Skåne. Their disloyal schemes met with the ready cooperation of the Duke of Mecklenburg, who was married to Magnus' sister, and it was agreed that his young son, Albert, should supplant Magnus as king of Sweden. In the autumn of 1363 Albert arrived in Stockholm, and the great nobles delivered the country of the Folkungs into his keeping.

Magnus and Haakon did not give up the Swedish throne without a struggle, and allied themselves with their former enemy, Valdemar of Denmark. They concentrated an army in Norway to fight the German usurper, but met with a decisive reverse (1365), Magnus being made a prisoner. Haakon's later attempts to drive the Germans out of Sweden were, as we shall see, not successful. He did, however, manage to secure Magnus' release from prison (1371) and to obtain some Swedish provinces for his maintenance. The sorely tried king took refuge in Norway, where three years later his chequered life was ended, and with him his whole life-work seemed overthrown and the glory of his dynasty eclipsed. Sweden, left in a state of financial ruin, torn by internal strife and at the mercy of a weak foreign king and his reckless followers, was in grave danger of sinking to the level of a German province. Magnus cannot be acquitted of all responsibility for this disastrous finish to a reign which had once been full of promise. But the chief blame rests with the nobility who, actuated by narrow and selfish class interests, had been ready to hand over their country to foreign domination.

* *
*

The Mecklenburg régime only lasted a short time. The exiled Folkungs had still many loyal supporters, and Albert's position was far from secure. He was threatened from both Norway and Denmark, for Haakon had married Valdemar's daughter Margaret, thereby securing also a political alliance. The danger of a Danish offensive, however, was small, for, ever since his conquest of Visby, Valdemar had been involved in war with the Hanseatic cities. These had lately gained such important successes that Albert and the Swedish nobles even hoped to reconquer Skåne.

The unrest in Sweden did not cease, but rather increased as a consequence of the aggressive insolence displayed in their respective fiefs by the German knights who had followed Albert to Sweden. In 1370 the freemen rose in several provinces against the foreigners and demanded that Haakon should be recalled. Simultaneously the Hansa towns made peace with Valdemar without taking Swedish claims into account, thus frustrating the hopes entertained by the aristocratic party of recovering Skåne. Haakon now entered Sweden with an army, and marched victoriously on Stockholm. Albert saved his tottering throne only by an unconditional surrender to the Swedish nobles, who used this opportunity to obtain full realization of their ambitions. Albert was forced to give an undertaking that all fortresses held by him or his father should be given up to *Rikets Råd*, »the Council of the Realm». Further, he was to act in all important matters according to »*råds råde*» or the wishes of the Council. In order to put an end to the influence of the German knights it was decided that no foreigner should be a member of the Council or be in possession of any Swedish castle. The power of the Crown was destroyed, and its chief functions were transferred to the Council, which henceforth was to be entitled to elect its own members.

During Albert's later reign, Sweden was therefore governed by the Council, Drots Bo Jonsson Grip being the actual ruler. In the recent disturbance this highly gifted but unscrupulous nobleman appropriated innumerable estates, and also the most important castles and fiefs. It has been estimated that by fair means or foul, he acquired more than half the kingdom, Finland in its entirety being one of his possessions. In spite of the fact that Bo Jonsson had been one of the leaders of the party who called in Albert, he had now joined those who for selfish and nationalist reasons most vigorously opposed the German influence. For several years he nevertheless gave Albert personally his powerful support, without which the king would have been unable to save his crown. The exiled Folkungs were eagerly awaiting a favourable opportunity to assert their legitimate claims to the Swedish throne. At last their time came. After the death of King Valdemar of Denmark (1375), his daughter Margaret successfully opposed the election of a nephew of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and managed instead to get her young son, Olaf, chosen as Valdemar's successor. In 1380, on Haakon's death, Olaf inherited the Norwegian throne, his mother acting as a particularly able regent in both Denmark and Norway. After this fresh political change it was only a question when Margaret would attack the usurper on the Swedish throne.

Bo Jonsson died in 1386 and Albert immediately tried to take possession of his enormous estates, and at the same time to subdue the mighty Swedish aristocracy. He only succeeded in provoking a fresh revolt, the nobility joining with the lower classes in a fight against the German oppressors. They turned to Margaret for help, offering the Swedish crown to her son. But Olaf never ascended the throne of his ancestors, for he died suddenly in 1387, the last of the old Folkung dynasty. His mother retained her

position as regent of Denmark and Norway, energetically pursuing the foreign policy on which she had previously embarked. A treaty was concluded (1388) between her and the rebellious Swedish nobles, who undertook to acknowledge her as regent of Sweden, with full royal power, and to hand over to her all Swedish castles. Albert began extensive preparations to meet the approaching danger, and in 1389 the war broke out. Margaret entered Sweden with a Danish-Norwegian army, and was reinforced by the Swedish rebellious party. She defeated Albert on a plain near Falköping, taking as prisoners Albert himself, his son and his German allies. Within a short time the whole of Sweden, with the exception of Stockholm, was in the hands of the reigning princess. The German monarchy was crushed, and a new period began in the medieval history of the Scandinavian countries.

THE AGE OF SCANDINAVIAN UNION.

QUEEN MARGARET has won greater fame than perhaps any other medieval ruler in Scandinavia. Her statesmanlike genius no less than her remarkable personality undoubtedly justified the high admiration bestowed on her, both by her own age and by posterity. She was almost a child when she married King Haakon of Norway, but her political interests and her power of initiative soon became evident. The election of her son Olaf to be king of Denmark was no small triumph of her diplomatic skill. As regent during her son's minority, she found Denmark suffering from the effects of her father's unsuccessful wars against the Hansa, large portions of Skåne still being held as security by the cities of the League. By a cautious and systematic policy, she soon recovered these areas, at the same time increasing her authority in the country. The most obvious proof of the power and esteem she so rapidly had gained was, perhaps, that after the death of her son, the nobility in both Norway and Denmark without hesitation invited her to become regent of the two countries bereft of their king. The Norwegian law of succession demanded, however, that Norway should have a king, for Norway, unlike Denmark and Sweden, was an hereditary kingdom. Margaret chose her sister's grandson, Eric of

Pomerania who, shortly after the conquest of Sweden, was formally elected king of Norway.

Albert's fall, and Margaret's elevation to the Swedish regency, did not immediately end the internal feuds which for several decades had devastated Sweden. Albert's German adherents took refuge in the fortified city of Stockholm, where they met with ready support from the resident German burghers. The latter organized themselves as a special political party and instituted terrible massacres of the Swedish burghers, whom they suspected of being in sympathy with Margaret's cause. Before long Stockholm became a centre of German pirates (the so-called *Victual Brothers*), who raided the shores of the Baltic and took possession of Gottland. They also found shelter in the cities of Rostock and Wismar in Mecklenburg, and used them as bases for attacks on Denmark, extending their raiding expeditions even to Norway, where they ransacked Bergen. Scandinavian commerce was for several years at a standstill. Both Margaret and the German Hansa found it imperative to restore peace in the Baltic. Eventually — the Hanseatic cities acting as mediators — a treaty of peace was concluded between Albert's supporters and Margaret (1395). Albert was set free on condition that he surrendered Stockholm to the Hansa, which in three years' time was to hand over the city to Margaret. As soon as Stockholm was given up, the pirates were dooomed, and their ships were hunted down by Hanseatic and Scandinacian men-of-war. The Teutonic Order proved a powerful ally, conquering Gottland, which had been turned into a veritable pirates' nest, in 1398. In that year Stockholm was handed over to Margaret, and Swedish unity was once more restored.

Meanwhile, Queen Margaret had lost no time in taking steps to consolidate her position in the three countries. She aimed at establishing their union under one king for all

time, and succeeded in 1396 in getting Eric of Pomerania elected king of Denmark and Sweden. In the following year she summoned members of the councils and the nobility from the three countries to a meeting in Kalmar. Although Eric had not yet reached his majority, his coronation as King of Sweden, Denmark and Norway was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony — a token of the dynastic unity of the three realms. Preliminary discussions were initiated with the object of establishing a common treaty of union. Such a treaty did not materialize, however, because the final proposal accepted by the three councils did not go as far as Margaret had hoped. While Margaret wished to entail the crown in Eric's dynasty, the proposed agreement emphasized that the three countries should jointly elect their future kings — a stipulation doubtlessly inspired by the Swedish Council. It was further proposed that the three kingdoms should assist each other in war, and that their foreign policy should be decided by the king, in consultation with the council of the country where he resided for the time being. Further than that the great nobles evidently did not wish to commit themselves. They asserted definitely that each kingdom should keep its own national code of laws, and be governed according to its provisions. That implied, in respect of Sweden, that her government and her castles could only be entrusted to Swedish-born men.

The union between the three Scandinavian kingdoms has been called »The Union of Kalmar», after the Swedish city where the inaugural meeting took place. Owing to the opposition of the Swedish and Danish aristocracies to the introduction of hereditary succession in their respective countries, this assembly did not establish a joint constitution, and so accomplish what Margaret had intended. She soon realized, however, that she was better able to build up a

strong central government, which she regarded as the foundation of the Union, without being tied by written agreements. In Sweden, her rule meant a revival of the authority of the Crown, which had been so seriously weakened during Albert's reign. In the treaty between Margaret and the rebellious Swedish nobles in 1388, it was agreed that all privileges, fiefs and endowments conferred by Albert should be declared null and void. She also set out to improve the ruined finances of the Crown. At a meeting in 1396, the great nobles were prevailed upon to agree to her demand that all estates which had been exempted from taxes since Albert's accession to the throne should again be liable to be taxed by the Crown. An extensive reversion of property was begun, which lasted for eighteen years. Innumerable estates, which the nobility had robbed from the state or the peasants during the recent disturbances, were now restored to their rightful owners. Also the Church had to submit to this narrow search. The result was that the revenue of the Crown was vastly increased. In the fief of Västerås alone, five hundred farms began to pay taxes to the Crown instead of to the nobility or to the Church. At the same time the peasant class was safeguarded against the illegalities of the nobles and its status made more secure. Margaret also confiscated most of the large Swedish enfeoffments, which in the past had been mortgaged or given in charge to the nobility without any obligation to furnish accounts. These fiefs were now — contrary to Swedish law — put into the hands of Danish or German bailiffs, who were obliged to render an account of their administration, and were entirely dependent on Margaret's favour.

The dominions which Margaret had united under one sceptre formed an enormous kingdom — the largest in Europe if one considers its area (about 1.2 million square

kilometres). In comparison with this vast area, the population was extremely small, numbering only just over one million and a half. Approximately one half of the inhabitants lived in Denmark, the rest being scattered over the thinly populated provinces of Sweden and Norway. Possessing the largest population and the greatest wealth, Denmark naturally took the lead within the Union. The united Scandinavian state towards which the previous ages seemed to have been tending, was in a fair way of becoming a *fait accompli.* The provinces round Lake Mälar had first merged into one kingdom of *Svear* or *Suiones,* which afterwards absorbed *Götaland* or the »Land of the Goths». Norway and Denmark had evolved in similar fashion, and a large Scandinavian state with Denmark as the focus seemed the natural climax of this development. The obstacles appeared insignificant. The three peoples belonged to the same race, the differences between their languages were little more than those between kindred dialects, their culture was essentially similar. In comparison with the conditions prevailing in Great Britain or France during this period, linguistic and ethnological differences were far less pronounced in Scandinavia. The means of communication and the administrative machinery available at that time were, however, totally inadequate for efficient government in such a vast country. The united northern kingdom was doomed by its very size, but the political errors of Margaret's successor undoubtedly hastened the disintegration of her realm. Margaret probably did not intend to create a Scandinavian nationality or a northern empire, in which the three peoples should possess equal rights. Denmark was to her the principal country, while Sweden, which she had conquered, and Norway, prostrate after the terrible outbreaks of plague and the gradual extinction of her old nobility, became merely dependencies. While a

number of Danes received enfeoffments in Norway and Sweden, no Swede or Norwegian was given similar responsibilities in Denmark.

The union, however, brought many advantages to the three peoples, in generating peace between them for a long period. A number of Swedes therefore eagerly embraced the idea of Scandinavian union, in spite of the subordinate position allocated to their own country. Another advantage of the union was that Sweden during its first decades again had a strong government which set bounds to the oppression and lawlessness of the aristocracy. By her personal intervention in the Swedish administration, Margaret won the affection of large sections of the Swedish people, although she did not lessen their heavy taxes, and often used the revenue derived from Sweden for specifically Danish purposes. One condition necessary to the preservation of the union was that the regent should incessantly keep her attention fixed on the government of her three countries, without being distracted by complications with foreign powers.

During Margaret's later years, Denmark was involved in a war with Holstein. This conflict arose in respect of Slesvig, the borderland between Denmark and Germany, and, with certain intervals, it has continued to the present day. Whilst on a visit to the contested area, the great queen passed away in the harbour of Flensburg, 1412, leaving her young relative in sole charge of the government. King Eric was married to a daughter of Henry IV of England, Philippa, who was greatly beloved by the Scandinavian peoples, and to her influence the chroniclers attributed any good and charitable deed that her husband performed. In 1427 she was taken ill while travelling in Sweden and died in the convent of the Bridgittines at Vadstena, where she was also buried. After Margaret's death, Eric continued

with alacrity the war with Holstein, and was at times nearly victorious, but the long struggle was to have disastrous consequences both for himself and for the newly created union. The German campaigns took up so much time that he seldom had an opportunity of visiting his Swedish kingdom. Since the king alone had the right to summon the Council, Sweden was for long periods left without a central government of its own. Swedish affairs were settled in Denmark, and the decisions forwarded to the various bailiffs in Sweden. Eric could exercise but limited control over these bailiffs, who thus became more or less autonomous. By their arbitrary, and often tyrannical rule, and by the heavy taxes they were instructed to impose, on account of Eric's long and expensive wars, they soon roused the anger of the Swedish inhabitants. The majority of the king's bailiffs were of Danish or German nationality, which only added fuel to the fire. The union was soon identified with foreign domination, and became as hated as the previous Mecklenburg tyranny. The Swedish cities also fell on evil times. In 1426, war broke out between Eric and several North-German Hansa towns, which started to blockade his coasts. As Swedish foreign trade almost without exception passed through these Hanseatic cities, the blockade had serious consequences for Swedish industry. Discontent seems to have been particularly acute in the important industrial areas which had come into existence in Dalarna and Västmanland during the Folkung period. About 1430 the miners *(bergsmän)* in these parts suffered from a bad trade depression — partly a result of the heavy and unfairly distributed taxes — many of them being brought to economic ruin. The miners, who were to some extent of German origin, constituted already a special class in society, raised above, but at the same time intimately connected with, the peasants.

Many miners, who had received a certain education and military training, belonged to the gentry. Amongst these was Engelbrekt, the champion of Swedish liberty, and the greatest of medieval Swedes.

Engelbrekt belonged to a well-to-do mining family which probably descended from a burgher of German origin, known to have been resident in Sweden about 1300. Engelbrekt's father carried a coat of arms and he himself had been educated as a gentleman — he was for instance called *armiger,* which argues in favour of this circumstance. The bailiff appointed by the king to govern in the neighbourhood of Engelbrekt's home treated the peasants with exceptional cruelty. This prompted Engelbrekt to take up their cause and as spokesman for the peasants, he travelled to Denmark, and accused the bailiff before the king. Eric instructed the Swedish Council to enquire into the matter. The investigations proved the truth of Engelbrekt's complaints, but in spite of this, the king made no move. At last the patience of the peasants ran out, and they marched against Västerås, where the bailiff resided. The armed threat produced effect, and the Council was forced to depose the bailiff. This may have retarded, but could not prevent the conflict, for Engelbrekt seems to have been determined to crush the detested domination of bailiffs, and thereby to bring about a change in the government of the country. At Midsummer (1434) the revolt began in earnest. Engelbrekt, at the head of the peasants of Dalarna, stormed the bailiff's castle in the vicinity, and marched through Västmanland into Uppland. The rising became a national war of independence waged against the union kingdom, and spread to all parts of the country. Members of the aristocracy also joined Engelbrekt's party, e. g. Eric Puke, who as an ardent follower led the campaign in the north of Sweden. By his inspiring speeches, Engel-

brekt won the lukewarm for his cause, leading his army by rapid marches from victory to victory. King Eric, who was occupied with his wars in Holstein, stood unprepared before this movement, which was spreading with the sudden force of an avalanche. His only attempts to stem the tide consisted in instructing the Swedish Council to endeavour to reach a settlement by mediation. The Council met in Vadstena, but its deliberations were dramatically interrupted by Engelbrekt, who arrived there with his troops. Resolutely, Engelbrekt stepped into the Council chamber, and called upon the mighty lords to make common cause with the people, and renounce their allegiance to the king. When they refused, Engelbrekt threatened to give them up to the vengeance of the infuriated peasants, in this way forcing them to join the rebellion and to send a letter to the king, renouncing their allegiance.

Engelbrekt energetically followed up his successes. He organized his followers into three different armies, and set out to besiege those castles which were still in the hands of the king's bailiffs. With his own army he invaded Denmark and conquered the province of Halland. He was, however, forced to break off his advance on receiving news that Eric had arrived in Stockholm, one of the few Swedish strongholds still in his power. The Swedish Council, which was unionist at heart, came to an agreement with the king in Stockholm in November 1434. It was decided that an international tribunal should meet in the following year and judge between the king and his subjects. The constitution of this tribunal was to be so arranged, however, that a decision in favour of the king was a foregone conclusion. Much against his will, Engelbrekt had been obliged to consent to this agreement, but was determined to prevent a restoration of the union. His constitutional ideal was at once royalist and democratic. The old national

kingdom should be reestablished. He and the Swedish people looked upon the legendary St. Eric as the ideal of a just and beloved ruler. For this reason he had the picture of this national king and saint engraved on the great seal of the Swedish realm. Not only the king, however, but the Swedish people represented this national unity. Since the Council no longer considered the interests of their country, Engelbrekt decided to create a new medium through which the will of the people might be expressed. He called together clergy, nobles, burghers and peasants to a meeting in the city of Arboga.

This meeting, which was held in January 1435, has long been regarded as the first Swedish *Riksdag* (»day of the realm«). It is uncertain whether a similar meeting had previously been called; in any case, if such a meeting had taken place, it had been of no great political consequence. The *Riksdag* in Arboga was an expression of the idea that all subjects of the realm had a right as well as a duty to uphold law and order. It was also an assembly of revolutionary character, for its members undertook jointly to carry through the decisions arrived at regarding the government of the country. The assembly was entirely dominated by Engelbrekt, who was elected regent of Sweden. The Swedish nobility did not contemplate his elevation with any satisfaction. Their representatives on the Council endeavoured by fresh negotiations to restore the broken union, albeit under a form more in keeping with their own interests and with those of the country. Their aim was to make the Council a permanently functioning government under the leadership of a few high officers of the Crown. The union king should retain only the outward signs of his dignity, but no real power. The Swedish nobles would on no account have the dominion of foreign bailiffs reestablished. They demanded that castles

and enfeoffments should be entrusted to them only, and opposed Eric's plan of introducing an hereditary kingship.

Engelbrekt had no intention of assisting in the setting up of an oligarchy of this kind, but he did his utmost to prevent a break with the aristocracy, which would only have led to a disastrous civil war. He acquiesced, therefore, and the unionist Krister Vasa was appointed *drots* by the king, while Karl Karlsson Bonde, who had nationalist leanings, was made marshal. Engelbrekt had earlier received a small fief, and he continued his leadership of the national movement. The negotiations with Eric came to a standstill before a definite reorganization of the Swedish government had been decided upon. Engelbrekt therefore called another *Riksdag* in Arboga, January 1436, and sent from there an ultimatum to Eric, asking him without delay to accede to the demands for a change in the government and administration of Sweden. As Eric did not answer the ultimatum of the *Riksdag*, it was decided to elect a regent for the kingdom. The Council manifested its suspicious attitude towards Engelbrekt by electing for this office a far inferior man, Karl Knutsson. But the democratic party was not content to see their popular hero thrust on one side, and effected a compromise by which Engelbrekt and Karl Knutsson should act as joint regents.

Unhappily, Engelbrekt was not permitted to bring his campaign for Swedish liberty to a successful end. While he was travelling in central Sweden, he was treacherously murdered by one of the great nobles, 27 April, 1436. The peasants carried his body to Örebro Church, where they buried the remains of their beloved leader. Large numbers of pilgrims visited his tomb in after years, and in some places he was even honoured as a saint. He may with reason be regarded as the greatest Swedish statesman of the

middle ages. His political career covered a period of three years only, but it lasted long enough to reinstate the Swedish peasant class as a political factor; to create a democratic national representative assembly, the *Riksdag;* to break up Margaret's Scandinavian state; and to uphold Swedish independence. A contemporary German chronicler says of Engelbrekt that »he was chosen by the Lord and endowed with power like Saul to defend his people, and to lay low the adversaries of Righteousness. Engelbrekt surely did not begin this war from any pride of the spirit or from lust of power, but from compassion with those who were downtrodden». The same deep admiration is expressed in a poem written by a Swedish bishop, in memory of the dead hero. He is described as a humble man, whom God had made his instrument, bestowing on him power and genius to carry out his work of deliverance.

* * *

At the time when Engelbrekt was murdered, Eric's position was already undermined. Both in Norway and Denmark the discontent was pronounced, leading in Norway to a brief revolt against his government in 1436. The Danish aristocracy had been disturbed by Eric's endeavours to entail the crown, and their opposition increased when Eric in 1432 was forced to give up Slesvig to the Counts of Holstein. This meant that his foreign policy had come to nought. The members of the Danish Council, representing the aristocratic interests, tried more and more to curtail the king's power and set themselves up as arbiters between him and his rebellious Swedish subjects. In their endeavour to reestablish the union, they could count on the cooperation of the Swedish Council. Their aims were identical: to retain the alliance between the Scandinavian

countries, but to limit the power of the king in the interests of the nobility.

In Sweden the unionist Council had an antagonist in the ambitious Karl Knutsson, who after Engelbrekt's death alone acted as regent. The noble marshal did not possess Engelbrekt's qualities as a leader of the people and therefore did not succeed in gaining popularity amongst the peasants. Many of Engelbrekt's adherents regarded Karl Knutsson with open mistrust, while his aristocratic colleagues tried in every way to counteract his designs on the throne. His position naturally became somewhat unstable. The attempts of the Council to restore the Union foundered on the obstacles raised by Eric during the negotiations. In spite of his precarious position, he stubbornly refused to surrender any power to the Council. Weary of the burden of government Eric finally turned his back on the three countries, and settled down in Gottland as a pirate chief, causing much damage to Scandinavian commerce. In Denmark the Council provisionally took over the government. Eric was formally dethroned in 1439, and his nephew Christopher of Bavaria was elected regent. In Sweden several years elapsed before any definite course was decided upon, the opposing parties rending the country in twain by their struggles for supreme power. Karl Knutsson at first shared the government with Krister Vasa, the unionist *drots,* while the democratic party under Eric Puke refused to submit to their aristocratic rule. One peasant rising after another was ruthlessly suppressed by Karl Knutsson who at last captured and executed Eric Puke. This blow disabled the democratic party, but there arose instead conflicts between Karl Knutsson on the one hand and Krister Vasa and the unionist party on the other. Karl Knutsson found it necessary to waive his claims in March 1438. He was not yet strong enough to risk a

fight with his own class, but he waited for an opportunity of realizing his soaring ambitions.

* * *

As the aristocratic party failed to come to an agreement with Eric, Karl Knutsson decided to assume the leadership. He carried his own election as regent at a *Riksdag* in Stockholm, October 1438. The aristocratic party which controlled the Swedish Council nevertheless continued its unionist policy and tried to place the Danish regent on the Swedish throne. After Christopher's election as king of Denmark, in April 1440, unionist hopes ran high. Karl Knutsson, well aware that the Council would never support his aspirations for the Crown, consented to renounce his hopes, on condition that he was given large fiefs. He laid down the regency at a *Riksdag* in Arboga, 1440, and it was decided, subject to certain conditions, to elect Christopher king of Sweden. Natives only should serve on the Council, and additional members should be proposed to the king by the Council itself. Castles, fiefs and royal domains must be entrusted to Swedes approved by the Council. Revenue should not go out of the country, but be at the king's disposal during his residence in Sweden. All castles should on the king's death be surrendered to a committee of the Council — a provision which made the introduction of an hereditary kingship impossible. By forcing Christopher to agree to these conditions, the Council hoped to prevent a recurrence of Margaret's and Eric's autocratic unionist policy. Christopher and his Danish advisers hesitated long before conceding these demands. The Swedish Council, however, was adamant, and enlisted the support of the Norwegian Council. In the end Christopher accepted the conditions, 1441. He was elected king of

Sweden immediately afterwards, and king of Norway the following year.

The union between the three Scandinavian countries was restored, but its character had been altered. The king's authority was excessively circumscribed, and each Council possessed full executive power in its respective country. Each kingdom enjoyed the largest possible independence within the union, which practically corresponded to a Scandinavian defensive alliance. The nobility, on whose behalf the Council acted as a standing committee, had so far emerged victorious in the wars between unionists and non-unionists. and had set aside both the king and the national democratic party. During the so-called reign of Christopher the Council actually ruled, and Christopher, who was none too enterprising, does not seem to have made any attempt to diminish its power. The national party was broken up, and its former leader Karl Knutsson retired to Finland, where the king had given him extensive fiefs.

The restored union did not last long. Christopher died in January 1448 without leaving a son, the question of his successor being left open. In Sweden the Council appointed two of its members to act as regents, Bengt and Nils Oxenstierna. Both brothers were ardent unionists, and it seemed probable that they would accept an invitation to a joint Scandinavian conference issued by the Danish Council for the purpose of selecting a new king. At this juncture Karl Knutsson stepped in. He embarked in Finland with a splendid escort of knights and warriors and held his entry in Stockholm in May 1448, being greeted with acclamation by the people. He at once summoned a *Riksdag* which, without much opposition, elected him king of Sweden. He was afterwards crowned in Uppsala Cathedral.

Although the Swedish unionists had suffered a severe

defeat, they were hopeful of resuming their association with Denmark, where the German Count Christian of Oldenburg had been elected king in September 1448. Karl Knutsson soon received a clear indication of the intentions of the unionist aristocracy. A year after his accession to the throne a Swedish expedition was sent to Gottland, where the exiled King Eric had taken refuge. Visby and the whole of rural Gottland was conquered, but the Swedish nobleman in command treasonably delivered up the island to the newly elected Danish king. Also another matter, of vital importance to the country, revealed to Karl Knutsson that the majority of his Council were using all possible means to cripple his policy.

* * *

A strong opposition to the union with Denmark had arisen in Norway, which to a greater extent than Sweden had become a Danish vassal state. After Christopher's death the peasants in large areas of Norway declared themselves against Christian of Oldenburg. They expressed their wish to elect Karl Knutsson, and so restore the personal union between Sweden and Norway existing in Magnus Ericsson's time. Both northern and western Norway acknowledged Karl Knutsson as king in 1449; only in the south did Danish noblemen succeed in getting Christian elected. Karl Knutsson hastened to Norway, and was solemnly crowned in Trondhjem cathedral. The Swedish nobles objected strongly to this aggrandisement of Karl Knutsson, and set out to rob him of Norway. Their opportunity came at a Danish—Swedish peace conference, which had previously been arranged to take place in Halmstad, 1450. Without adequate reasons, and without even consulting their king, the Swedish delegation stated that Karl Knutsson renounced the Norwegian crown in favour of

Christian. It was further decided in a Danish—Swedish treaty, that in the event of the death of either Karl Knutsson or Christian, the union should be restored.

Having formed a conspiracy against Karl Knutsson under the leadership of Archbishop John Oxenstierna, the great nobles forced the king at a meeting to sanction the humiliating clauses of the Treaty of Halmstad. Karl evidently considered his position too insecure to defy the powerful unionist party, and he dared not, like Engelbrekt, appeal to the peasants. The relations with Denmark were not improved by Karl Knutsson's abdication of the Norwegian crown, which now went to Christian. The latter married his predecessor's widow, and brought forward unreasonble claims on her behalf, demanding that she, as widow of the late king of Sweden, should be given two Swedish provinces for her maintenance. These demands were refused, as was to be expected, and Christian found a pretext for declaring war on Karl in 1451. Simultaneously, a wide-spread conspiracy against Karl was discovered amongst the Swedish nobles. The intended revolt was nipped in the bud, a large number of its instigators being forced to seek shelter in Denmark. Christian's plan of campaign did not therefore come off, and Karl was able to resist the Danish attack with vigour. The war was continued with varying success and interrupted by a few years' armistice, but finished up with disaster to Karl Knutsson. Early in 1457 Archbishop John placed himself at the head of a revolt, and won such decisive victories that Karl, who had been taken by surprise, fled to Danzig, the powerful Hansa city. There he found shelter, but no support for his designs to reconquer Sweden.

The victors assigned the government to the archbishop and Eric Tott, a Danish nobleman. They invited Christian to Sweden, and elected him king, after extracting from

him concessions as far-reaching as those previously demanded from Christopher. The confederation of great nobles shared the spoil, which was increased by the private possessions of Karl Knutsson. The most important castles and fiefs were allotted to members of the aristocratic families Oxenstierna, Vasa, Tott and Bjelke. The Council again was all-powerful, the most prominent position being held by the autocratic archbishop — the »kingmaker». If the aristocratic party imagined that the goal of its political aspirations had been reached, it was greatly mistaken. Though Christian at first found it most expedient to accept the situation, he had no intentions of submitting to the tutelage of the Council after the docile manner of Christopher. As soon as Christian had won Sweden, he concentrated his efforts on acquiring Slesvig and Holstein, the late duke having died without heirs, 1459. He succeeded in the following year in being elected ruler of these important border countries. His gain involved great expenditure, however, for all the other claimants to the title had to be compensated with large sums of money. Christian imposed heavy taxes in his three countries in order to acquire the necessary funds. In Sweden, his rights to levy new taxes and to use the revenue of the State were strictly limited by the pledge he had given before his election. Relying on his increased power, Christian now disregarded this agreement. He also tried to establish the dominion of his dynasty in Sweden, which according to law was an elective and not an hereditary kingdom. In 1458 he carried through the election of his three year old son Hans *(John)* as king of Sweden, i. e. heir to the throne.

The heavy taxes caused a growing discontent amongst the common people, and in 1463 the peasants of Uppland rose up in arms. They marched to the archbishop, demanding relief from the new taxes, which the latter felt obliged

to grant. The archbishop's concession roused Christian's anger; he imprisoned the mighty prelate and brought him to Denmark, while he ordered a terrible slaughter of the undisciplined bands of rebellious peasants. His ill-advised tactics produced a radical change in the Swedish political parties. The goodwill which the unionist party had entertained towards Christian was changed into violent hatred. In January 1464 the adherents of the archbishop rose in defiance to revenge his fate, and found an energetic leader in Kettil Vasa, bishop of Linköping. Many of Karl Knutsson's supporters joined the former unionists, above all his nephew Sten Sture (the elder), also the peasants in several provinces. When Christian tried to subdue the rising with Danish arms, he suffered a decisive reverse, and was obliged to return to Denmark for reinforcements.

Sten Sture and the peasants demanded that Karl Knutsson should be called back and reinstated. The supporters of the archbishop gave reluctantly their consent, and in July 1464 Karl Knutsson was invited to return. He arrived a month later in his kingdom, after having affirmed that he no longer harboured any ill-feelings towards the archbishop. Bishop Kettil, however, had another end in view than to restore the crown to Karl Knutsson. He only used Karl as a pawn in the game against Christian in order to procure the release of the archbishop and vindicate the rights of the Council. He sent secretly a messenger to Christian, who was prevailed upon to be reconciled with the archbishop, on condition that he should regain the Swedish crown. Archbishop John was released and returned to Uppsala, and almost at once he began openly to organize a new revolt against Karl Knutsson. The latter had not yet been able to establish his authority in the country and could not effectively resist the hostile archbishop and his powerful confederates. In January 1465

he was again forced to abdicate, and retired to Finland, where he was given some castles. The archbishop became regent, and was careful not to hand over the kingdom to Christian without proper guarantees that the ambitions of the unionist party should be fulfilled. He and his friends above all aimed at restoring aristocratic government. The principal fiefs were therefore given to the leaders of the successfully accomplished rebellion.

Within the aristocratic party signs of grave dissension soon became apparent. Some of its members did not wish to see the archbishop as the actual ruler of the kingdom. These irreconcilable nobles rallied round the Tott family, whose history throws light on one particular phase due to the triple union. By intermarriages and by the acquisition of fiefs and private estates, an aristocracy had arisen, Scandinavian in character rather than specifically Danish or Swedish. The ancestral home of the Tott family was situated in Skåne, then a Danish province, but about 1450 several of its members had acquired large Swedish fiefs. Eric Tott, son of the influential Axel Tott, possessed three important Swedish castles with surrounding territory and acted for a short time, after the fall of Karl Knutsson in 1457, as regent of Sweden. Two of his brothers, Ivar and Åke, held a large portion of the Danish province of Holland in fief, while a third, Olof, had come into possession of Gottland.

After being deposed in 1465, Karl Knutsson came to an understanding with Eric Tott. One result of this *rapprochement* was the marriage of Karl's daughter Magdalene to Ivar Tott in the following year. The nobility, well represented at the wedding ceremonies, joined in a conspiracy against Archbishop John, and shortly afterwards proclaimed Eric Tott regent. Christian confiscated several Danish fiefs of the brothers Tott, but his powerful

vassal, Ivar Tott, retaliated by declaring war on the king. A Swedish—Danish war broke out in the summer of 1467, and ended with a Danish defeat near Stockholm. The martial Archbishop John was forced to seek refuge in Denmark, where he died shortly afterwards. The victors summoned a *Riksdag,* which recalled the old king Karl, who now for the third time ascended the Swedish throne. The duties of government were discharged by Ivar Tott, his son-in-law, who probably more than anyone else had contributed to the victory over Christian and his Swedish supporters. The closing years of Karl Knutsson's reign were relatively peaceful, although several Swedish fiefs were still in Danish hands, and a number of attempted insurrections had to be suppressed.

In May 1470 the storm-tossed life of Karl Knutsson came to an end. He was obviously neither a great ruler nor a strong personality, but as an exponent of Swedish nationalism in a momentous age, he deserved well of his country. His misfortunes must be ascribed partly to his inability to rally the great masses in wholehearted fight for Swedish independence, as Engelbrekt had done; partly to the circumstance that the aristocracy had taken advantage of the decline of the union monarchy to resume its former influence during Albert's reign. Karl Knutsson — as later on Gustavus Vasa — rose from nobleman to king, and had therefore not the support of a dynastic tradition. The Swedish nobility just then passed through a stage of powerful development, and was not easy to subdue. In his fight against the nobles, the king stood without the assistance of a reliable administration and an adequate revenue. The financial position was deplorable, and his private wealth alone made it possible for Karl to uphold his authority. The administration of the castles and fiefs, the collection of taxes, the jurisdiction and the control of the military

forces, were almost entirely in the hands of the lawless aristocracy. Only a thorough reorganization of the administration could have increased the power of the king. Karl Knutsson was not equal to such a task, nor was he able to carry out his plan of recovering those estates which the nobility had appropriated from the Crown.

The death of Karl Knutsson brought Sweden face to face with another critical situation. His son-in-law, Ivar Tott, must at once have realized that his Danish origin prevented him from succeeding Karl. The election of king was therefore postponed, and it was decided to appoint a regent. Ivar and Eric Tott supported the candidature of Sten Sture, who was Karl Knutsson's nephew. In 1471 his election was carried in both the Council and the *Riksdag*. A happier choice could hardly have been made. Sten Sture had earlier distinguished himself in the Danish war, and was in possession of several important castles. His personal qualities had evoked general esteem and affection, and his future record as statesman and patriot proved him a worthy successor of Engelbrekt.

* * *

The election of Sten Sture the elder introduces the important concluding chapter in the history of Scandinavian union. It has been called »The Sture Age» because, throughout this period, the government was almost without a break in the hands of members of the two separate families bearing this name. The Sture age was marked by a national revival, a reaction against the hopes of a fresh union, which were still entertained by a powerful aristocratic party. Fortunately, the Swedish nobility stood divided before this question, many noblemen having attached themselves to the national party, led by the high-bred regents. The lower classes, miners, peasants, and burgesses, constituted, however,

the mainstay of the national party, and the Sture age can therefore be said to descend in a direct line from the age of Engelbrekt. The first and last of the Sture regents were true leaders of the people. They understood the difficult task of keeping the love of freedom alive in their humble followers and using it to further their nationalist policy. All three were able statesmen and generals, who successfully guarded the interests of the country both at the conference table and on the battlefield.

The Sture age began with a memorable Swedish victory, which raised the self-confidence of the nation. King Christian of Denmark, who after Karl Knutsson's death reasserted his claims on the Swedish throne, sailed in the following summer (1471) to Stockholm with a well equipped army. The situation was critical for Sten Sture, the newly elected regent, for simultaneously the Swedish unionists rebelled against him and joined the Danish army, which started to besiege Stockholm. While the Danes entrenched themselves for a siege of the well fortified Stockholm, the regent and his friends summoned the Swedish peasants to fight for liberty. Large peasant hosts marched towards Stockholm from the different provinces of Svealand, and on the 10th of October encountered the besieging Danish army on the heights of Brunkeberg, just outside the North wall of the city. Sten Sture won here a decisive victory over Christian, who hurriedly gathered up the remnants of his forces and fled by sea to Denmark.

A wave of patriotism reverberated through the country. The native burghers of Stockholm felt that the time had come for annulling the old regulations that Germans should occupy half the number of seats in the corporations of the Swedish cities. The burgesses in the larger towns should henceforward not be divided into Swedes and Germans, but constitute a national unit. In remembrance of the

St. George and the Dragon. Central group in a large monument in St. Nicolas' Church in Stockholm, executed in wood by Bernt Notke, a native of Lübeck. Presented by the Regent Sten Sture the elder in remembrance of the victory at Brunkeberg in 1471.

1.

2.

3.

4.

1. Detail of the effigy of Queen Margaret (b. 1353, d. 1412) in Roeskilde Cathedral, Denmark. 2. Christian I (b. 1426, d. 1481). Contemporary Italian medallion. 3. King Karl Knutsson (b. 1409, d. 1470). Wood carving by Bernt Notke. 4. King Christian II (b. 1481, d. 1559). Woodcut by Lucas Cranach.

victory over the Danes, a monument was erected in the Church of the burgesses of Stockholm. It represented the fight of St. George and the dragon — a symbol of the national struggle for deliverance. This victory also broke up the unionist party. A number of its members went over to Sten Sture, others fell in the battle or retired from the political arena. The new regent had become master of the situation and for a quarter of a century succeeded in maintaining his position.

The victory over the Danes was important also from a cultural point of view. The Danish king was at this time anxious to found a university at Copenhagen, and his plan stimulated a similar movement in Sweden. At that time Sweden possessed no university, and, from the thirteenth century onwards, Swedish youths had studied at foreign seats of learning. During the Folkung age the famous university of Paris had been the most frequented, and several Swedish dioceses had founded colleges there. Later on Swedish scholars went to Prague and Leipzig. If a Danish university were founded, students from other parts of Scandinavia visiting it would undoubtedly imbibe unionist ideas, and it was therefore decided to found a national university in Sweden. Sten Sture and Achbishop Jacob Ulvsson laboured assiduously to attain this end, and in 1477 the pope granted a Charter to the University of Uppsala. In the autumn of the same year classes were begun in this university, the oldest in Sweden, and indeed in the whole of Scandinavia. Amongst the first teachers were Ericus Olai, »the father of Swedish historical research».

Christian's inglorious Swedish campaign provoked the Danish Council to vigorous opposition to him and his foreign policy. The leaders of the Danish nobility were anxious to end the unfortunate war with Sweden. Partly as a result of their readiness for peace, an agreement, which

had the character of a Swedish—Danish alliance, was reached in Kalmar (1472). An »eternal» peace — so it was agreed — should henceforward reign between the Scandinavian countries. The Treaty of Kalmar was a sincere attempt to create a *modus vivendi* in the unionist conflict. In order to safeguard the interests of the nobility, it was decided that those possessing estates in one of the Scandinavian realms other than their native land should be allowed to retain such property unimpaired. It was further agreed that the following year a delegation of members of the Swedish and Danish Councils should meet to settle the points at issue between the two countries. The Danish Council made no serious attempt to assert Christian's claims, but for several years endeavoured to preserve the peace with Sweden and her powerful regent.

After the death of King Christian in 1481, the Danish Council again attempted to restore the union, and, at the same time, to limit the power of the monarchy. The election of a new king was therefore postponed until an inter-Scandinavian meeting had been convened and a new »union constitution» agreed upon. Such a meeting took place in Halmstad in 1483, but only Danish and Norwegian delegates attended in full strength. Sten Sture had ignored the summons, and the small number of Swedish representatives who put in an appearance possessed no credentials authorizing them to vote in the event of a royal election. The Danish and Norwegian Councils elected Christian's son John (Hans) king of Denmark and Norway. This election was subject to certain conditions, i. e. that John agreed to guarantee self-government to the two countries, and to make various concessions in the interests of the aristocracy. The Swedish nobility began once more to show unionist leanings, but, by a temporizing policy, Sten Sture managed to prevent John from being elected king also of Sweden.

Sten Sture endeavoured to consolidate his own position, and in 1487 seized the Swedish fiefs of Ivar Tott, his former ally, who, ignoring Sten Sture's position as regent, assumed the powers of an independent prince.

In the beginning of 1490, however, the aristocratic opposition to Sten Sture grew in strength. A constitutional conflict arose between the regent and the Council, but the peasants supported their beloved »Lord Sten» so effectively that the great nobles were forced to postpone their plans to restore the union. The peasants, together with miners and burghers, were often summoned to meetings — about twenty are known to have been called between 1470 and 1497. In this way the regent kept in touch with the people, and succeeded for a number of years in retaining his at first temporary dignity, in the face of powerful opposition. As in Engelbrekt's time, the *Riksdag* became a weapon wielded by the chosen leader of the people in his fight against the unionists and the Danish kings. John and the unionist Swedish nobles, however, worked indefatigably to overthrow Sten Sture. King John first tempted Russia to declare war against Sweden, but when the Russian attacks on Finland did not produce the desired effect, he decided to try his own fortune. Fortunately, Sten Sture had time to obtain an advantageous armistice with the Russians before concentrating his powers on repelling the Danes. The Swedish unionist aristocracy, however, joined King John, and once again Sweden was faced with civil war. The leader of the new unionist party was Svante Nilsson Natt och Dag,[1] who had broken with his relative Sten Sture during the Russian campaign. The regent was on the point of subduing the rising, when John landed in the vicinity of Stockholm with a large and well equipped army.

[1] His family coat of arms was black and white, hence the name »Night and Day».

That Sten Sture could rely on the loyalty of the people is evident from the communication which the inhabitants of Dalarna sent to the governing body of Stockholm at this time of crisis: »Dear friends», this letter runs, »Ye all know that since he became our regent we have enjoyed law and order, and peace and quiet have reigned. Ye also know that the provinces and castles of our fatherland were formerly in divers hands, but that they are now united because he has ventured life and property in this cause. Since he has served us so faithfully, we cannot suffer him to be driven from the regency by force.» Sten Sture did not venture to offer battle in the field, but fell back with his army on Stockholm. He attempted, but without success, to obtain reinforcements from other parts of the country and finally, recognizing the hopelessness of the struggle, agreed to acknowledge John as king, provided that a complete amnesty were granted to his own party. In October 1497 the Danish monarch entered Stockholm, and was shortly afterwards elected king of Sweden.

At first the new king adopted a policy of conciliation. Svante Nilsson, the leader of the unionist party, was made Marshal, while Sten Sture received an equally important appointment, and, in addition, extensive fiefs. Soon, however, John incurred the suspicions of the aristocracy by urging the recognition of his own son as heir to the throne. In spite of their wish to retain the elective character of the kingship, the nobility finally agreed to John's request. The apprehensions of the unionist nobles increased, however, when John broke several promises which he had previously given them, and as a result thereof they drifted towards the beaten national party. The *rapprochement* between these formerly hostile camps was mediated by one of the most remarkable politicians of the union period, Canon Hemming Gadh. He had been Sten Sture's representative

at the Vatican, where he had spared no efforts to advance the interests of Sweden. Actuated by an intense hatred of the Danes, the canon, by the exercise of his diplomatic skill, succeeded in reconciling Sten Sture and his opponent Svante Nilsson, whose ambitions had not been satisfied by King John. A reorganization of the national party was thereby effected.

While these political readjustments were taking place in Sweden, John met with a disastrous reverse during a campaign against the free republic of Ditmarschen. This defeat served to undermine his prestige in Denmark, and encouraged the Swedish opposition. In the autumn of 1501, after careful preparations, Sten Sture and his new adherents started a revolt against John, who was simultaneously faced with a rising in Norway. The whole of Sweden was before long in the hands of the national party, and Sten Sture was again appointed regent, though his duties of government were performed by Svante Nilsson and Hemming Gadh. The latter, who was as experienced in warfare as he was versed in diplomacy, was elected bishop of Linköping. After the death of Sten Sture in December 1503, Svante Nilsson succeeded him as regent.

Primarily as a result of Sten Sture's remarkable statesmanship, the regency was developing into a permanent Swedish institution. The people were hostile to the union kingdom, and there was no national dynasty that might replace the Danish kings on the Swedish throne. No aristocratic leader dared aspire for royal ascendancy, for he felt convinced that his own class would begin a relentless fight against any such attempt and make him share the fate of the unfortunate Karl Knutsson. Sten Sture, who held the affections of the people in a singular degree, had not entertained any ambitions of kingship, still less did Svante Nilsson, a far more pronounced aristocrat, venture to seek

such honour. He was content to maintain his authority as regent. King John, however, did not recognize his regency, and the enmity between Sweden and Denmark continued. The war consisted chiefly in a struggle for the important fortress of Kalmar, not far from the Danish border. The hostilities were occasionally interrupted by a truce, during which John in vain resumed his attempts to regain his Swedish crown by negotiations.

The long war with Denmark was a source of irritation to a large number of the Swedish nobility, who were closely related to the Danish aristocracy by family connections, and possessed large estates in the enemy's country. Their unionist sympathies increased in vigour, and Svante Nilsson, who had formerly been prominent in unionist circles, found himself opposed by a strong party, who secured a majority in the Council. In the end he was forced to enter into negotiations which King John, and a treaty of peace was signed in Copenhagen in August 1509. According to its provisions, Sweden should annually pay a large sum of money to the Danish king. The payment of this tribute should cease in the event of John or his son Christian being recognized as king of Sweden. The claims of the Danish kings had indeed shrivelled, no reference was made as to reestablishing Margaret's powerful united kingdom. But the peace did not last long. The regent and his supporters interfered with the payment of the tribute and, in the autumn of 1510, they restarted the war with Denmark. The indefatigable Hemming Gadh travelled to Lübeck, which recently had been entangled in a Danish war. At an assembly of the Hansa, Gadh delivered a celebrated speech, in which he put forward the Swedish point of view in the unionist struggle. The result was an alliance between Sweden and the great Hansa town against their common enemy. The war led to a few Swedish successes but brought Svante and

his party into fresh collision with the unionist nobles. A conflagration seemed inevitable, when Svante suddenly died early in 1512.

The Swedish unionist party seemed victorius, and their leader Eric Trolle was appointed regent by the Council. The Danish war immediately ceased, and in April 1512 Sweden and Lübeck concluded peace with Denmark in Malmö. The conditions in respect of Sweden were identical with those of the former treaty of peace, but, in addition, Sweden undertook to decide within a year's time whether she would recognize John as king or pay an annual tribute. The national party was not inclined to give way, however, and Svante's young son Sten came forward as its able and resourceful leader. He stirred the popular imagination by adopting the surname *Sture,*[1] to which he felt entitled as a relative of Sten Sture the elder, and he won the affection of burgesses and peasants by his lovable disposition. After the death of his father, he swiftly took possession of the principal castles. Supported by the loyalty of the common people he reversed the decision of the Council, which had appointed Eric Trolle as regent, and instead had himself elected to this office in July 1512.

By his decisive intervention, Sten Sture the younger had dealt a severe blow to the unionist party, which never forgave him this defeat. Other important political changes occurred in the Scandinavian countries shortly after Sten Sture had been elected regent. King John passed away in 1513 and was succeeded by his highly gifted son Christian II, who, like his father, was determined to press his claims to the Swedish throne. Gustavus Trolle, the son of Eric Trolle, became leader of the Swedish unionist party, and was elected archbishop of Uppsala in 1514 in succession to

[1] In consequence of his adoption of the name Sture, his father Svante is often — incorrectly — called by the same name.

the aged Jacob Ulvsson. The new archbishop hated Sten Sture with the utmost vehemence, and after his election he refused to swear allegiance to the regent, who had been the means of separating his father from the regency. In Trolle's opinion the archbishop was above the secular authority of the country — a theory which more than anything else was to promote the downfall of the Roman Catholic Church in Sweden during the reign of Gustavus Vasa. The conflict between the regent and the archbishop became more acute in 1516, when Trolle initiated a conspiracy between a number of unionist nobles with the intention of calling in Christian II. The plot was exposed, and Sten Sture used the opportunity for vigorous action against the compromised unionists. Trolle sought refuge in his strongly fortified castle, *Stäket,* which Sten Sture promptly besieged. A Danish army came to relieve Trolle, but was beaten outside Stockholm. A *Riksdag* met in Stockholm and it was agreed that Trolle should be deposed from his high office and his castle demolished (1517). The decision of the *Riksdag* regarding the dethronement of the archbishop was a dangerous act and a breach against the privileges of the Church. Sten Sture was supported by strong public opinion, and he was probably also aware of the fact that the authority of the Church was not so unassailable as it appeared to be. In order to enlist the sympathies of the Curia, he offered the archiepiscopal see to a papal nuncio, Archimboldus, who was visiting Sweden for the purpose of selling indulgences. Archimboldus was elected primate of Sweden, but the pope did not sanction his election. Christian II and Trolle pleaded their cause so effectively in Rome that in 1519 Sweden was placed under an interdict and the regent and his adherents were excommunicated. There could no longer be any question of compromise. Sture had the bulk of the people on his

side, and he seems to have contemplated the possibility of having himself elected king.

In the previous year Christian had a second time launched an attack on Sweden but was again defeated in the vicinity of Stockholm. Christian agreed to a truce, and invited Sten Sture to a conference on his ship with the treacherous intention of imprisoning him. When the regent, listening to the protestations of his adherents, refused the invitation, Christian instead offered to meet him in Stockholm, provided that certain noble Swedes were brought to the Danish fleet as hostages for his safe conduct. As soon at these noblemen had embarked on the Danish fleet, Christian set sail, treacherously carrying with him into Danish imprisonment the Swedish nobles. Amongst these were Hemming Gadh, the avowed enemy of the Danes, and the young knight, Gustavus Vasa. The truce was at the same time broken, and the Swedish people understood that they would have to fight to the bitter end for the freedom of their country.

Christian started extensive military preparations for this campaign and hired efficient mercenary troops on the continent. In January 1520 a Danish army, about 10,000 strong, invaded south western Sweden. Sten Sture with his levied army of peasants stemmed its northward march, and the two armies met on the ice of Lake Åsunden (19th January). Soon after the beginning of the battle, Sten Sture was so seriously wounded that he could no longer exercise command. Deprived of its beloved leader the Swedish army soon split up into undisciplined bands, which scattered in all directions. Dying, Sten Sture tried to reach Stockholm in order to organize its defence, but on the way there succumbed to his wounds on the 3rd of February, 1520.

Sweden was now left without a leader in her desperate fight for freedom. The unionist aristocracy again came to

the fore, and, in March 1520, the Council proclaimed Christian II king of Sweden. As long as possible, the peasantry refused to submit to the foreign yoke; armed bands tried to make a stand against the hostile armies, but as they lacked coordination, they were soon defeated and dispersed. Only a few fortified castles and cities, more especially Stockholm, valiantly held their own against the enemy. The defence of Stockholm was led by Sten Sture's widow, Christina (who belonged to the Gyllenstierna family). Inspiring the burgesses with her undaunted courage and resource, she succeeded for several months in repelling the Danish attacks on the city. Christian resorted then to other methods. He tried to sow the seeds of division and mistrust in the stout hearts of the Stockholm burghers, and found a willing tool in his former enemy, Hemming Gadh, who had now returned from his imprisonment in Denmark. The aged politician must have regarded a continuance of the fight as hopeless and advocated submission to the conqueror as being more advantageous to the country. He advocated these views with fervour and, after a time, succeeded in convincing the burgesses in Stockholm of the force of his arguments. Christina, who despaired of being able to defend the city any longer, decided to give it up to Christian, 7th September, 1520. Christian pledged himself beforehand to give complete amnesty to the Sture party in reference to its actions against Archbishop Trolle.

In his earlier negotiations with the Swedish Council, Christian II had undertaken to respect the laws of the land and to agree to such limitations of his royal authority as former union kings had been forced to accept. The position had, however, somewhat altered. Having conquered Sweden by armed force, and humiliated the national party, Christian made it clear that he did not intend to hand over

the real governing power to the Council. By an obvious misinterpretation of Swedish law he allowed himself at a *Riksdag* in Stockholm (October 1520) to be proclaimed *hereditary* king, a title which in its medieval sense implied absolute power. He was later on crowned by Trolle, who had been reinstated as archbishop, and took the solemn oath which generations of Swedish kings before him had taken, but which he was to violate before long in the most unscrupulous manner.

The splendid festivities which followed on Christian's coronation were ended by a ruthless massacre. Members of the Council, noblemen and prominent burgesses were called to an assembly in the large hall of the Royal Castle on November 7th. The revengeful archbishop now came forward, requesting that the king should give restitution to the Church for the indignities she had suffered. He petitioned that those persons should be arrested who had associated themselves with the decision of the *Riksdag* in 1517 regarding his dethronement and the confiscation of his estates. He read out a lengthy indictment against eighteen persons mentioned by name, and against the city of Stockholm, demanding that, as a punishment for their serious crime against the Church, they should make financial reparation to himself and to the Church. The king, with whom Trolle evidently had previously agreed on this line of action against the representatives of the Sture party, now ordered the gates of the castle to be closed. The Lady Christina, widow of Sten Sture, courageously stepped forth and answered on behalf of her party that no separate individuals but the whole Swedish people were responsible for the action taken against the archbishop in 1517. She strengthened her plea by producing the actual document containing the decision of the *Riksdag*. She further pointed out that Christian had promised an amnesty to the Sture

party in respect of its treatment of the archbishop. Her protest was of no avail.

When Christian and the archbishop proceeded from threats to action, their paths diverged. Trolle's aim was probably confined to extracting a large and ruinous indemnity from his former opponents. The king, however, influenced by some unscrupulous foreign advisers, wished to deal a death blow to the entire Sture party. On the following day the accused persons were brought before an ecclesiastical court, of which the archbishop was a member, and this court pronounced them guilty of heresy. Immediately afterwards the king pushed Trolle on one side and followed his own course. In the market place of Stockholm about ninety people were executed by his orders. Two bishops, a large number of noblemen and many nationalist city burgesses were among the victims. The majority of these had neither been formally accused nor brought to trial. The terrible bloodshed was continued the next day, and later on extended to the provinces, where amongst many others the aged Hemming Gadh lost his life.

Christian defended »the massacre of Stockholm» in a public manifesto, saying that he had meted out punishment to heretics according to the statutes of the law. For centuries to come it remained in the mind of the Swedes an appalling memory of the detested union with Denmark, procuring its instigator the name of »the Tyrant». Christian himself believed that, by this mass-execution, he had broken Swedish resistance for ever, and his ambitions for the future ran high. He proudly contemplated the establishment of a large Scandinavian trading company, and the consequent destruction of the mercantile supremacy of the German Hansa. Before his return to Denmark in December 1520, Christian confiscated the estates of the executed noblemen and filled the vacant sees by having two Danish

adventurers of ill repute instituted as bishops. He left a small Danish garrison behind, and set up a temporary government consisting of Trolle and his two Danish favourites. Within a few months' time, however, a revolt broke out which put an end to the union with Denmark, and in its stead established a free and independent Swedish kingdom.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL KINGSHIP.

BEFORE STOCKHOLM had been forced to surrender, Gustavus Vasa, a young Swedish nobleman, had attempted to call the peasantry to arms against the usurper. In 1518 at the age of twenty-one he had treacherously been made a prisoner by Christian, but managed to escape from Denmark in the following year. The young knight belonged to an Uppland family, which in the beginning of the fifteenth century had risen to prominence in the country. The first member of this family to play an important political rôle was Krister Vasa, who was appointed to the high office of *drots* by Eric of Pomerania in 1435. Like his son, the martial Bishop Kettil, Krister was a unionist and one of Karl Knutsson's most formidable opponents. One of Krister's sons, John, had married into a nationalist family and in consequence joined the Sture party, to which also his son, Eric, the father of Gustavus Vasa, attached himself. Gustavus himself had belonged to the immediate *entourage* of Sten Sture the younger and fought with conspicuous bravery in the Danish war.

Gustavus escaped from Denmark to Lübeck whose powerful corporation refused to surrender him to Christian. In

May 1520 he returned to Sweden, in vain endeavouring to organize an effective resistance against the Danes in the southern provinces. On his way northwards he heard the news of the massacre of Stockholm, during which his father, his brother-in-law and a number of other relatives had lost their lives. The large family estates had been confiscated, and he could himself at any time expect to share the fate of his kinsmen. The Sture party was practically crushed, and the nationalist peasantry had, for want of a leader, almost everywhere laid down arms and submitted to the inevitable. Gustavus was in perpetual danger of falling into the hands of the Danes, and in the central provinces Danish rule had obtained such a firm footing that a united effort to fight the oppressors appeared to be out of the question. Gustavus had nevertheless decided to make the attempt.

Disguised as a peasant he fled to Dalarna, a province situated so far from Stockholm that it had not yet been subdued by the Danes. From the days of Engelbrekt, Dalarna had been a centre of the national struggle for independence, and amongst its inhabitants the Sture regents had counted numerous followers. Like Engelbrekt, Gustavus hoped to raise an army of miners and peasants in Dalarna and there start his campaign. At first his attempts to call the men to arms met with no response. A later tradition, which is probably not far from the truth, has described his wandering in the villages of Dalarna as fraught with constant danger. Time after time the disguised nobleman was very nearly caught, but he hid in a cellar, or in a load of straw, or, like a common farm-hand, started helping with the threshing, thereby escaping the notice of his pursuers. In the large villages bordering on Lake Siljan, he entreated the people to rise against the Danish tyranny, but the peasants were not willing to run the risk, and at last Gustavus fled in despair towards the Norwegian border. At

that moment a rumour spread abroad that king Christian was about to carry fire and sword also amongst the peasants. This caused a sudden revulsion of feeling in Dalarna. Swift ski-runners were despatched to recall the fugitive knight. They caught him up, and in January 1521, the peasants of western and eastern Dalarna met at Mora Church and made him their leader. As a chosen peasant chief Gustavus Vasa began his life-work, so momentous in the history of Sweden.

Christian, who was informed of Gustavus' attempts at rebellion, regarded them as comparatively harmless, and continued his return journey to Denmark. He soon found that the insurrection was of a particularly serious nature. Gustavus marched southwards with a thousand ill-armed peasants. Manifestos, distributed in advance of his march, urged the well-to-do miners to join in the struggle for freedom. From Tuna, the meeting place of the *Thing*, the miners and peasants of Dalarna sent out an open letter to the neighbouring province of Närke. They wrote that they intended to drive away the Danes from the country and regarded each one who did not support their movement as a traitor. Not until then did the provisional government, appointed by Christian, begin to realize the danger and sent troops to subdue the rebels. At the southern boundary of Dalarna the government forces were met by a strong peasant army and defeated with great losses. This success was the signal for a general offensive against the Danes. Gustavus himself took possession of Västerås Castle, and his spokesmen in other provinces won over the peasants for his cause. A large number of noblemen, who had submitted to Christian after »the massacre of Stockholm», now went over to his opponent. The military efficiency of the Swedish national army was thereby improved, for it stood in great need of experienced com-

Gustavus Vasa (King 1523—60).
Portrait by Jakob Binck (1542).

Ornäs in Dalarna, built towards the end of the fifteenth century. The young Gustavus Vasa stayed here as a fugitive in 1520.

The Castle of Vadstena, one of the finest examples of the architecture of the Vasa age.

mand and heavily armed cavalry. It was now possible to besiege the numerous fortified castles and cities that were in Danish hands, amongst which was Stockholm, the capital of the country.

These successes were largely due to lack of firmness in the government which Christian had left in power. Its three members pulled different ways, and in the end Trolle had his two Danish colleagues actually put in prison. Christian, however, apparently continued to underrate the extent of the insurrection. Instead of returning to Sweden, he left secretly for the Netherlands. Here he hoped to meet his brother-in-law, Charles V, and to arrange for a more active commercial intercourse between Scandinavia and the flourishing Dutch cities. The absence of the king facilitated the task of the Swedish nationalists. Many of Christian's adherents deserted him, e. g. the influential bishop of Linköping, Hans Brask, and the fickle »lawman» of Västergötland, Ture Jönsson. The nobility and the clergy, having suffered severely in the recent massacres, joined to a man the national revolt. Gustavus was acknowledged regent, thereby attaining the influential position previously held by the Stures. In spite of this, his prospects were not reassuring. The treasury was empty, his troops undisciplined, and he lacked a navy with which to defend the long and vulnerable coastline. Although he had captured many castles in other parts of the country, Stockholm, with the aid of reinforcements received by sea from Denmark, still held out. On his return to Denmark in the autumn of 1521, Christian began to make extensive preparations, in the hope of recovering the ground he had lost in Sweden. To meet this threatened danger, Gustavus concluded an alliance with the powerful North-German Hansa towns. Lübeck in particular had watched with apprehension the rising power of Denmark, and feared that the establishment

of a powerful Scandinavian trade rival might overthrow the mercantile supremacy of the Hansa. Danzig joined with Lübeck in vigorous support of Gustavus' war of independence. Lübeck allowed the Swedish regent substantial credit, and sent a fleet with German mercenaries on board to his assistance. He was thereby enabled to surround Stockholm both from land and sea, while naval forces from Lübeck and Danzig raided the Danish coasts. The pressure on Sweden was relieved, and, instead of being the aggressor, Denmark found herself compelled to act on the defensive.

Confronted with this danger, Christian imposed new and heavy taxes which created general discontent in Denmark, especially amongst the nobility. The Danish aristocracy had long resented Christian's attemps to set aside the powerful Council and to establish an absolute and hereditary monarchy. Consistently democratic in his domestic policy, Christian had deliberately aimed at increasing the power of the unprivileged classes at the expense of the nobility. He had particularly endeavoured to improve the position of the peasant class, which was practically reduced to serfdom, and to develop the trade of the insignificant Danish cities. This was undoubtedly a farseeing policy, but it clashed with the interests both of the wealthy landed aristocracy and of the Hanseatic cities. The Reformation having commenced a few years earlier in Germany, Christian made no secret of his desire to establish a Danish National Church, emancipated from the authority of Rome. By fresh legislation he limited considerably the jurisdiction of the Church and also her right to acquire additional estates. As a consequence he became involved in a conflict with the hierarchy, the existing political confusion being aggravated by religious dissension.

The discontent of the Danish nobility soon broke out in

open revolt. In December 1522, three bishops and several noblemen from Jutland organized a conspiracy against Christian. They shortly afterwards repudiated their oath of allegiance, offering the crown to Christian's uncle Duke Frederick. The duke and the rebels allied themselves with Lübeck, and at Viborg *Thing*, Frederick was proclaimed King of Denmark. At this crisis, Christian apparently lost all power of initiative. The peasants in some provinces offered to help him against the aristocracy, but he seemed to despair of subduing the rebellion without foreign aid. In April 1523 he fled to the Netherlands, hoping to obtain assistance from Emperor Charles V. Few of his subordinates remained loyal and, with the exception of certain fortified cities, the whole of Denmark, and shortly afterwards Norway, went over to Frederick.

The result of the Danish civil war saved Sweden. It is true that Christian's forces still occupied Stockholm, and his commandant, the undaunted Severin Norrby, held Gottland and some Finnish castles, but the rest of Sweden had been swept clear of the Danes. It was imperative to settle three important questions before the new régime in Denmark could be stabilized: 1. to put an end to the union, 2. to vindicate the position of Sweden as a sovereign state, and 3. to reestablish the national kingship. After the dethronement of Christian, Sweden was without a king. It was of paramount importance to proceed with the election before Frederick, the newly acclaimed king of Denmark, put forward claims on the Swedish throne. The interests of Lübeck and Danzig were identical with those of the Swedish nationalists whom they had supported, for a united Scandinavia was a constant danger to the Hansa. In the month of May 1523 a *Riksdag* was called in the old cathedral town of Strängnäs. Besides the Council, and representatives of the nobility, burgesses, miners and peasants, two delegates from

Lübeck attended this *Riksdag*. The Council, depleted by the massacre of Stockholm, was supplemented by new members, after which the *Riksdag* proceeded to elect a king. *One* man only could be seriously considered at this election — the victorious regent, who with such conspicuous determination had brought the war of independence to a successful end. The Sture family was the only Swedish family which might have disputed his claims, but the heirs of the late Sten Sture the younger had not yet reached their majority. On the 6th June 1523, Gustavus Vasa was therefore unanimously elected king of Sweden, »To the praise, honour and glory of God and to the lasting benefit, protection and strength of all Swedish people, spiritual and temporal».

Sweden had not achieved her success for nothing. The Hansa towns demanded as compensation for their services during the war of independence extensive trade privileges, which were to ensure their future mercantile supremacy over Sweden. Their demands created justifiable anxiety, but could not be repudiated. Sweden possessed no other allies than these German Hansa towns, and a blockade of Swedish commerce would seriously interfere with the development of the — as yet — unconsolidated kingdom. Stockholm and a few other Swedish fortresses were still in the hands of Christian's followers, and a break with the Germans would therefore necessarily retard the final success of Swedish emancipation. With due regard to these conditions, the Swedes were forced to grant exceptionally advantageous privileges to Lübeck and other Hanseatic cities. They were given a monopoly of Swedish trade and at the same time exempted from paying duty. Hanseatic merchants alone amongst foreign immigrants should be allowed to become burgesses in Swedish cities. All foreign trade should be concentrated in Stockholm and Kalmar,

and Swedish merchants were to be debarred from sailing to western Europe via the Sound and the two Belts. Sweden was crippled by these concessions, economically and to a certain extent also politically. Her dependence on Lübeck was further increased by her desperate financial position. In the very beginning of his revolt, Gustavus had been obliged to borrow from Lübeck and, unable to obtain credit anywhere else, was forced to continue to use it. As Sweden could not raise the necessary sums to pay the imported German mercenaries, the king's creditors in Lübeck advanced this money; hence the national debt continued to increase to an alarming degree. In the long run, Sweden would clearly not be able to endure this financial dependence on Lübeck, for her newly won political freedom demanded also economic independence. When the agreement of Strängnäs was signed, it was therefore obvious that a conflict between Lübeck and Sweden must arise in the near future.

The treaty with the Hansa cities brought, however, temporary relief. The garrison in Stockholm had begun to despair of obtaining help from Christian, and the commandant was prevailed upon by the Hansa merchants to surrender. Having gained their own ends by the treaty of Strängnäs, these cunning merchants had now no reason for retarding the capitulation of Stockholm, and it surrendered on 16th June, on condition that the garrison was allowed free passage. On Midsummer's eve — the great summer festival of the North — the king entered his newly recovered capital, thereby bringing his campaign to a successful end. But he found a poor and desolate city, which represented in miniature the state of the whole country. Gustavus took immediate steps to rebuild Stockholm. Merchants from other Swedish towns were ordered to settle there without delay, in order to assist in the restoration of trade. Failure to comply with this order rendered the offender

liable to severe punishment. The command was typical of the domestic policy of the new era. Sweden again possessed a king who was not afraid to govern, and whose main object was to reconstruct the kingdom. A new day was dawning for the Swedish people.

GUSTAVUS VASA AND HIS AGE.
1521—1560.

GUSTAVUS VASA (1521—60) is recognized by his countrymen as the creator of modern Sweden. His reign covered a period of important reconstruction, not only in Sweden, but in the whole of Europe. Great spiritual leaders like Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingly and Calvin left an ineradicable mark on the religious life of the Christian world. Nor is secular history barren in outstanding personalities during the first half of the sixteenth century. Charles V, Francis I and Henry VIII guided the destinies of the leading Western European countries, while in the East Ivan IV sat on the Muscovite throne, and Suleiman II followed up the victories of his Ottoman predecessors. Gustavus might well be placed side by side with these famous rulers, and had he reigned over a larger and better known country, European history would probably have recorded his name amongst her great statesmen. As it was, his field of activity lay in a poor and remote land, outside the main current of European politics. For this reason he figures less in general history than he deserves to do.

Contemporary European reports of Gustavus Vasa were often far from flattering. He was described as a usurper who had dethroned the lawful king, Christian II, had treated both his Swedish and foreign adherents with unparalleled ingratitude, and in the end had laid a covetous hand

on the riches of the Church. Many bitter pamphlets were published in similar vein by persons who had left the service of Gustavus and turned their back on the Swedish king in wrath and indignation. It must be remembered that practically all communication between Sweden and the continent at this period passed through Denmark, Lübeck and Danzig. Owing to the unfriendly relations which often existed between the Swedish king and his neighbours, it is not surprising that the news was coloured during transit. Foreign opinion, though not undivided, was therefore to a considerable extent hostile to Gustavus, and it was expected that his tyranny would come to a speedy end.

There was, however, another side to the picture, and we find from the following account, written by Gustavus' chaplain towards the latter part of his reign an entirely different verdict: »That is proven», he writes, »by a certain Doctor named Carolus Paludanus of France, when he thus answered one of his countrymen, who asked him what manner of man the King's Majesty of Sweden might be, for that there were strange tales abroad concerning him. The Doctor answered, saying: 'Dost thou ask what manner of man is my Lord the King? Know then that he is a king of the Lord's anointing.' The other said: 'Wherefore?' Thereupon the Doctor: 'For his Majesty hath a passing great understanding, and he is so sharp of wit therewithal, in all matters spiritual and temporal, that seldom have I known his like. For in God's word is his Majesty so well informed that he answereth rightly in spiritual things, by whomsoever he be questioned: he can correct the clergy of his realm, for he knoweth all the Scriptures. Moreover, in matters temporal the king commandeth certain things to be performed, whereof no man would believe that they could prosper at any time, nevertheless tho' all men misdeem of them, they

have good hap, and the commonwealth flourishes exceedingly, so that every man is astounded thereat.'»

The truth is that Gustavus' career was a singularly fortunate one. But his success was the result, not only of chance and favourable opportunities, but of hard and conscious endeavour, and the structure he built up with statesmanlike foresight and vigour weathered the storms, and did not meet with the rapid destruction that his enemies anticipated.

* *
*

The geographical boundaries of the Sweden over which Gustavus reigned did not coincide with those of Sweden of to-day. Then, Finland was included in Swedish territory, while the present Swedish provinces of Skåne, Blekinge and Halland belonged to Denmark, and Bohuslän, Jämtland and Härjedalen formed part of Norway, at that time subject to the Danish king. Blekinge and Bohuslän had long been a bone of contention, and Sweden had of old claimed the island of Gottland. At a meeting in Malmö in 1524, when the Hansa towns acted as mediators between the Swedish and Danish kings, all these disputed provinces were handed over to Denmark—Norway. The southern Baltic as well as its outlets, Öresund (The Sound), and Great and Little Belt, were consequently in the entire possession of Denmark. There was only a narrow strip of land, fifteen to twenty kilometres wide, at the mouth of Göta Älv, where Sweden reached the sea in the west. Practically shut off from the coast in the south and west, the Swedish dominions opened towards the east. This distribution of territory made friendly relations with the neighbouring Scandinavian states a delicate matter. The natural trade routes of extensive portions of Sweden (western Småland,

Västergötland and Värmland) follow the larger rivers which flow into the narrow waters connecting the North Sea with the Baltic. The possession by Denmark of these river mouths hindered traffic in various ways and, in times of war, afforded the Danes ready access to the heart of Sweden. It is true that one of the two river mouths of Göta Älv was Swedish. On its shore lay the trading port of Lödöse (near present-day Gothenburg), defended by the adjacent fort of Älvsborg. The Danish kings viewed with jealousy this outpost of Swedish defence, which broke the otherwise continuous chain of their provinces. Again, the Danish occupation of Gottland threatened the security of the east coast of Sweden itself (particularly in the vicinity of Stockholm) and might also interfere with communications by sea with her Finnish province.

Finland had for some time had unpleasant experiences of Russian expansion. The Muscovite rulers had gradually extended their power towards the west and had actually conquered the republic of Novgorod, which bordered on Finland. Their onslaught had so far been held at bay by the Knights of the Order of the Sword who possessed the coast south of the Gulf of Finland, Esthonia, Livonia and Courland (The Baltic provinces or Balticum). An aggressive Russian policy in these parts would immediately threaten the eastern provinces of Sweden.

Geographically, Sweden was obviously handicapped, and the political conditions added to the precariousness of the situation. The Danish kings refused to look upon the secession of Sweden from the medieval union as final. Though carefully concealed, their hopes of recovering Christian II's Swedish crown now and again became visible. The bitterness left by Danish rule in the minds of the Swedes was intensified by fear of an armed invasion to restore the union. The two countries suffered under this perpetual

cloud of mistrust, and only occasionally, under pressure of external difficulties did they temporarily cooperate. Naturally enough it was Sweden, the weaker and less favourably situated of the two, who felt herself threatened, and therefore was always on the alert against the designs of the »Jutes».

Looking round for possible allies against Denmark Gustavus did not find the prospect bright. Several North German princes were willing enough but were of little account. The most effective help against Christian II had been given by the Hanseatic League (chiefly Lübeck), but only in return for economic advantages which gave to Lübeck and Danzig practically a monopoly of Swedish foreign trade (p. 116). This was a restraint which Gustavus did not intend to suffer long, and his exertions to liberate Swedish commerce necessarily prevented continued cooperation with his former allies. Evidently no real help could be expected from outside. Sweden was thrown back on her own resources to meet a possible Danish attack, and her only course, while preparing for the worst, was to follow a policy of extreme caution, so as to avoid open conflict.

In the beginning of Gustavus' reign, Sweden was not prepared for any great emergency. Her population was small and scattered, only a few districts — the fertile plains of Västergötland and Östergötland, the basins of lakes Mälar and Hjälmar, and the south coast of Finland — being somewhat densely populated. Agriculture was the main industry both in the densely and in the thinly populated districts. The crops were, as a rule, sufficient to maintain the population, and even a greater one might be supported by reclaiming land from the forests and by improving the methods of cultivation. The people did not often suffer from want, neither did they store up riches, for which there was no great need in a country where the

bulk of the inhabitants depended almost entirely on their own farm produce.

Sweden did not lack resources, however, which might be exploited in order to increase her foreign trade. Much potential wealth lay hidden in the metalliferous rocks of central Sweden. Great primeval forests were capable of yielding valuable timber, as well as such by-products as charcoal, tar, and pitch. The industries of fishing and hunting could also be developed, good furs finding a ready sale abroad. Finally, more intensive methods of agriculture could provide a surplus, particularly of dairy produce, for export abroad. No serious attempts had been made to organize these and other industries on a large scale, though individual crafts, such as handwrought ironwork, had in some cases reached a high standard. The development of Swedish mining industries was due in the first instance to German business men and expert miners. By a trade agreement with Gustavus (1523), Lübeck and Danzig had still further strengthened German commercial supremacy. They had extorted the concession that Swedish merchants should ship their goods only to ports belonging to the Hanseatic League. In these ports they disposed of their Swedish produce and purchased in return goods for the home market.

We see that Sweden was practically a self-contained country. The primitive social conditions which then prevailed compare in many ways favourably with those of more recent times. But the simple, unruffled mode of life was to a certain extent counterbalanced by the restricted liberty of the individual. Moreover, a backward state cannot compete successfully with neighbours who have reached a more advanced stage of civilization. Denmark had already benefited by the industrial and commercial progress which had taken place in Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By exacting toll from all ships

passing through the Sound and Great Belt, the Danish king had found a never-failing source of revenue. This steady income enabled him to maintain mercenary troops and armed ships. Sweden would have staggered under such a financial burden and, when Gustavus' star rose on the horizon, she had already fallen behind in her competition with other nations.

We may now examine the extent of the political and administrative powers entrusted to the Swedish king during the later part of the middle ages. The law expected him to preserve public order and to defend the country. In order to fulfil these duties, he was entitled to certain ancient land taxes, to the produce of all royal domain land, and to a proportion of the fines (*sakören*) imposed by the courts. In certain emergencies the king could exact a special tax from his subjects, but the actual amount was decided by the *Thing* of each province (*landskap*). There were also other sources of revenue such as the then almost negligible duty on exports and imports. Further, the country people were obliged to perform a certain amount of boon-work at the royal castles and other domains, and were expected to supply the king and his retinue with necessary commodities during his sojourn in their neighbourhood. In times of war, the old Germanic custom prevailed that all free men, when called upon, should take up arms in defence of their country.

This national levy *(folkuppbåd)* had long since lost its real significance as a defensive force. Under inspiring leaders, the national army could inflict considerable damage on small enemy detachments, especially if taken by surprise. But it was no match for well-equipped and disciplined troops in the case of military operations on a large scale. Gustavus had repeatedly experienced this difficulty. The real military strength of the kingdom depended on feudal

levies, and on such mercenary troops as the king could pay for out of the exchequer or his own purse. The readiness with which the vassals fulfilled their military duties depended entirely on the personal authority of the king over the feudal lords. This point touches one of the central problems of government at this period. There had arisen a definite cleavage between, on the one hand, the gentry, who with one or more armed men followed the king's banner, and on the other, the nobility who possessed large estates situated in different parts of the country, and themselves maintained strong armed forces. To the latter group belonged, by reason of kinship and class interest, the prelates of the Church, bishops, abbots and members of Cathedral Chapters. The great lords had considerable influence in their respective provinces. They had for instance succeeded in obtaining for members of thier own families important judicial offices such as *lagman* (»lawman») and *härads-höving* (the elected leader of the hundred Thing, see p. 37). In addition, the royal castles were enfeoffed to men of their class, and the king summoned mainly bishops and great nobles to his council. As *Riksens Råd* (»the Council of the Realm») they had constituted themselves the most powerful executive body in the kingdom. On the whole, they had supported the claims of the Danish kings who seldom visited Sweden, rather than a native ruler living in their own country.

The story of Karl Knutsson indicates how difficult it was for a Swedish born king to keep the upper hand against this group of selfish and powerful lords. The Sture leaders had endeavoured to build up a really strong central government, and so prevent the country from breaking up into a number of small feudal provinces. They appealed successfully to the national instincts when fighting the Danes, and managed skilfully to play off the great lords against

one another. But their most formidable foe remained unconquered: all along the Church offered a united resistance to their policy.

The Church was without doubt the most powerful corporation in the kingdom. As in other European countries, she had gradually come into possession of a large part of the most valuable land and received a substantial and steady income from tithes. The bishops, ensconced in their fortified castles, or riding abroad with strong armed escorts, reigned like small kings in their dioceses. They had the deciding voice in the management of the Church's wealth and, when acting together, could overcome any opposition.

Archbishop Gustavus Trolle's treacherous alliance with Denmark, followed by King Christian's reign of terror in Stockholm, when two bishops were beheaded, caused a split in the ranks of the mighty prelates, and their divided front greatly assisted Gustavus' fight for national independence.

* *
*

Gustavus Vasa was singularly well fitted to carry through the work of reorganization that was needed if Sweden were to hold her own amongst the progressive nations of Europe. He had a keen eye for realities and practical possibilities, and gauged with accuracy changes of opinion and feeling both inside and outside his kingdom. His naturally suspicious temperament caused him always to be on the look-out for signs of hostile activities. At the same time he was well aware that »a soft answer turneth away wrath», and not infrequently did he succeed in silencing opposition by tact and good humour. If such weapons failed, he did not hesitate to take strong and even harsh measures to enforce law and order.

Gustavus understood that only by possessing land, ready

money and trained soldiers could he build up a strong central government. He had to reckon with troubles originating both at home and abroad. Aided by the Emperor Charles V, his brother-in-law, Christian II could at any time be expected to attempt to regain his lost power. In Sweden itself the results of civil war were everywhere visible. The peasants had got accustomed to be defiant and insubordinate, the feudal lords lived in their traditional independence, and the relations between Church and state were strained to breaking point. Soon after his accession to the throne, Gustavus attempted a reconciliation with Rome. The pope sent Johannes Magni, a Swedish commoner by birth, to enquire into the situation. In Rome Johannes Magni had a great reputation for learning and ability, but his mission as papal nuncio to Sweden proved fruitless. The Curia insisted on the reinstatement of Gustavus Trolle (p. 104) as archbishop, and adhered to its right to appoint foreigners as Swedish bishops. Gustavus flatly refused to agree to either of these demands. At last he offered the archiepiscopal see to Johannes Magni himself, which so flattered the vanity of this prelate that he accepted the offer and began to influence Rome on his own behalf. The pope sent evasive replies and, as time went on, other circumstances intervened and aggravated the already impossible position.

In the absence of the archbishop, Hans Brask, Bishop of Linköping, was the leading man in the Church. He was an able administrator and also a good strategist. During the recent crisis he had managed to keep on reasonably good terms with Sten Sture without breaking off relations with Archbishop Trolle, had saved his own head from Christian II's sword and in due time joined Gustavus Vasa's national party. The king frequently asked the bishop's advice on important questions, and was particularly anxious to have access to his great wealth. Hans Brask at first readily lent

the king large sums out of the coffers of the Church, but he soon found Gustavus' requests becoming greater and more frequent, and their friendly relations began to cool, while disquieting events in the Church made the bishop deeply apprehensive.

By this time the Reformation had begun to take root in Germany, especially in the flourishing cities, and Luther's teaching had also found its way to Sweden. In the Scandinavian countries, as to a large extent in Germany, the emancipating forces of the Renaissance came in the guise of the Reformation. Less brilliant and artistic than its South-European forerunner, but more warm-hearted and democratic, the Reformation made its appeal to the spiritually poor and humble, rather than to the intellectually rich. Luther himself was deeply religious and had through intense mental conflict fought his way to personal conviction. Though a loyal member of the Church of Rome, he felt himself compelled to rebel against such abuses as the sale of pardons, and eventually against the authority of the pope himself. The merchants and craftsmen in the cities received Luther's simple explanation of the Bible with enthusiasm, and amongst his ardent supporters were also several German princes. From the first, however, many of his followers used the Protestant movement for selfish political purposes. The Church of Rome had long been a wealthy political as well as spiritual power; hence the fight that ensued between Protestants and Catholics was waged for political as well as religious ends. Three generations carried on this often uneven and bitter fight. It penetrated the whole social fabric, finally reaching its climax during the Thirty Years War, when Gustavus Adolphus, the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, entered into the struggle to secure religious and political freedom for his race.

In Sweden, as in Germany, the inhabitants of the cities,

and more especially of Stockholm, showed a readiness to accept Luther's teaching, and its foremost Swedish exponent was a man of lower middle class origin, Olaus Petri. The son of a blacksmith in Örebro, he studied under Luther and Melanchton in Wittenberg, where he took the degree of »Magister» in 1519, shortly afterwards returning to his native country. He had witnessed the early beginnings of Protestantism and went home to Sweden filled with its great and liberating principles, which he retained in their original simplicity and freshness all his life. During his last years, however, Olaus was bitterly conscious of the failure of Protestantism to recreate humanity anew. He had found that »the world remains like herself», and longed for »a new heaven and a new earth in which reigneth not sin, but Righteousness».

On his return to Sweden Olaus was made chancellor to the bishop of Strängnäs. He gathered round him a group of eager disciples, amongst them his brother Laurentius Petri. Bishop Hans Brask complains in a letter of the mischief caused by sermons, full of »Lutheran ferment», and was evidently inclined to advocate strong measures. But at this critical juncture, Olaus had already won the support of the old archdeacon of Strängnäs, Laurentius Andreae, whom Gustavus after his election to the throne (Strängnäs 1523) appointed as his chancellor and right-hand man. In 1524 Gustavus made Olaus secretary and chaplain to the city of Stockholm. Thus the king had given shelter to the new teaching in spite of violent threats from the Catholic clergy and from orthodox lay-people. As secretary of the city of Stockholm, Olaus came in contact with the crude and inhumane methods by which the law was administered. He pleaded with eloquence against torture as a means of forcing a criminal to confess, saying: »It is better to set a criminal free than to pain and torment him who is guiltless», and

again — »The punishment should, if possible, be such as not to prevent him who is punished from reforming himself».[1]

But it was as preacher and writer that Olaus made his influence most deeply felt. He and his friends published a number of pamphlets and other writings bearing on the Reformation and brought out a Service-book to be used in the churches. His most important work was a masterly translation of the New Testament into Swedish, published in 1526. The whole Bible was not brought out until 1540—41.

Not only did Olaus foster amongst Swedish people the use of books, he actually transformed the written language itself, which up till then had been clumsy and ungainly. His many writings show that he was well versed in the theological and humanistic learning of his time. His sermons — still in use — and the hymns which he composed or adapted from the German, and which became the nucleus of the present Swedish hymnbook, bear witness to his deeply religious personality. Though an ardent disciple of Luther, he did not uncritically accept all his views. If he lacked the fire and originality of his master, he possessed instead a greater balance, a calmer judgment, and a tolerance unusual in the sixteenth century. That the Reformation in Sweden ran a smoother course than in Germany, was no doubt due in part to the moderating influence of Olaus Petri. More decisive factors still were perhaps the attitude of the Swedish people, and above all of Gustavus Vasa.

In certain respects Sweden was more prepared for the Reformation than many other countries. The Swedish people were undoubtedly loyal Catholics, grateful to the

[1] These and similar guiding principles, written by Olaus Petri, are still printed as a preface to the Swedish Laws.

Church for her guiding and consoling ministry, and full of admiration for her mystical rites. But blind obedience to the Church did not suit Swedish temper and tradition. The peasants in particular had always maintained considerable independence of thought as well as of action. For instance, the parishes were accustomed to appoint their own clergy. This tradition was so firmly rooted that the law of Östergötland stated definitely that the parish should have the right to nominate a new incumbent *(curatus)*, though the bishop was not bound to accept the nomination. As regards the marriage ceremony, the sacramental doctrine of the Catholic Church never entirely succeeded in supplanting the simple and natural rules formulated in the old laws. The people not only claimed considerable independence of action, which the Church very wisely tolerated, but also the right of criticism. They were not blind to the moral laxity of some of the clergy, nor did they approve of the rôle enacted by the prelates of the Church during previous political conflicts. They disliked the usurpation by the great lords of the rights and duties of the king. Their feelings were outraged when the martial Bishops Kettil Karlsson Vasa and Hemming Gadh, clad in full armour and sword in hand, commanded in battle or directed a siege in person. One can understand the retort of Swedish peasants to Bishop Kettil: »Sweden has always been a kingdom, and not a presbytery.»

The final separation of the Swedish Church from Rome was due to King Gustavus, and it was he who guided the main currents of events. Though perhaps not deeply religious by nature, Gustavus lacked neither convictions, nor the courage to defend them. Although not highly educated, he took an intelligent interest in the questions of the day, and entered keenly into the religious problems which then exercised men's minds. The doctrines of Luther and Olaus

Petri appealed to his common sense, and he embraced them all the more readily because their practical consequences would further his political aims. His early attempts at reconciliation with Rome having met with little response, Gustavus now eagerly grasped the opportunity of definitely severing the relationship.

The decisive step was taken at a meeting of the *Riksdag* in Västerås in June 1527. The king had summoned to this meeting the Council and other lords spiritual and temporal, as well as representatives of the burghers, the miners and the peasants. Västerås had been chosen because of a rising in Dalarna not far away, and Gustavus had enjoined the nobles to come fully armed. One of the matters for discussion was the suppression of this revolt, but as it turned out this problem was completely overshadowed by still more important questions.

As was usual in those days, the *Riksdag* met primarily to consider the king's proposals. But at a gathering where so many of the leading men of the country were present, opportunity could be taken of calling the king's attention to matters that needed redress. In the absence of a strong government, it had often happened in the past that several powerful cliques united and, carrying the lukewarm majority with them, enforced their will on the king. There was reason to fear a repetition of such practice on this occasion, for many came to Västerås with grievances and threats. The rebellion in Dalarna augured badly. It had many supporters and might spread to other parts of the country. The bishops and other clergy had taken offence at the preaching of the new religion in Stockholm, and strongly disapproved of the appointment of Laurentius Andreae as the king's chancellor and adviser. They feared that nothing but ill could come from such counsel, for already the king, as heir of the original founder, had claimed and taken possession of

monastic property at Gripsholm, and dissolved the monastery there. Even the cautious Bishop Hans of Linköping rode to Västerås to offer vigorous resistance, and he could count on powerful allies. Many of the nobles had never been favourably disposed towards Gustavus, and resented his efforts to raise a strong army with which he could curb their licence. Ture Jönsson Tre Rosor (Three Roses) was amongst the foremost of these opponents. He was »lawman» and a great landowner in Västergötland and had a large following, particularly in his own province *(landskap)*. He was known to be shrewd, unreliable and an opportunist.

Gustavus evidently came prepared for trouble, and resolutely took the bull by the horns by at once communicating »The king's proposals». His reasons for burdening his subjects with this expensive journey, he began, were »manifest trouble and weighty matters which ye now shall hear». He reminded them of the sad plight of the country during Christian's tyrannical reign, and of his own fight for national independence. The people themselves had begged him to be their leader, and had afterwards elected him king. In spite of their oath of allegiance, he had since continually met with malicious intrigue and open treachery, as for the moment in Dalarna. Everywhere he encountered criticisms and complaints: either on account of his preparations for defence, the debt to Lübeck, or because of hard times and shortage of supplies. Sometimes, more particularly just now, because, so it was alleged, he robbed the churches and monasteries and suffered the preaching of a new and heretical faith. All these attacks were manifest lies, and he was prepared to answer for his actions. Seeing, however, that his only reward had been disloyalty and ingratitude, he would prefer to be rid of the burden of government, and asked only to be given a province as a return for what he

had done. But he would point out that, whoever might ultimately be elected king, no stable government could be hoped for unless the permanent resources of the Crown were substantially increased, so as to meet the ever growing needs of national defence and foreign diplomacy. He also urged that the feudal nobility should recover much of the valuable property that had been alienated to the Church by former generations.

The earlier part of his speech was a pointed indictment of his critics, whom he appeared to class with the rebels in Dalarna. In the latter part he formulated demands which could scarcely be met save by the confiscation of much of the property of the Church.

Gustavus had miscalculated the effect of his speech, if he had expected the opposition to be silenced by his bitter accusations. Hans Brask replied on behalf of the bishops that they could not hand over any possessions of the Church without the consent of »their Lord and Master, the Pope». Ture Jönsson and his supporters loudly applauded the bishop of Linköping, and said he had spoken well. In a passionate retort, full of dramatic and scathing criticism, which revealed the intensity of his wrath, Gustavus now told the nobles that they were no better than instigators of rebellion. He well understood that they desired to see the axe driven into his head, though there was no one who dared to hold the handle. The very evil one in hell himself would not consent to be king over such subjects, much less could any man endure it. He therefore asked them to compensate him for his troubles, whereupon he would leave the country, never to return.

Contemporary narratives record that the king was so overcome that he burst into tears. Undoubtedly his words made a strong impression, and the consternation increased when he left the hall of the monastery, in which the delib-

erations were held, and retired with his armed escort to the neighbouring castle. The events of the next few days are somewhat uncertain. Gustavus had evidently determined to crush his powerful opponents with one swift stroke. What he intended to do in the event of failure has never been divulged. He entertained his comrades in arms at festive banquets in the castle, while the members of the *Riksdag* with apprehension conferred together in the monastery. As the days passed by, the cleavage widened between the bishops and great nobles on the one hand, and the gentry and commoners on the other. The aristocratic party upheld the rights of the Church as against the king, while their opponents considered Gustavus indispensable to the welfare of the country, and were ready to concede his demands, if he would only consent to retain the crown. The commoners sent urgent messages to the castle, imploring the king to return. Gustavus declined, and the more firmly he adhered to this policy of aloofness, the greater became the indignation of his supporters against those whom they regarded as the enemies of the king. At last one of the more amenable of the bishops declared that whatever happened to the Church, they must not let King Gustavus go. In face of this dissension in their own ranks and the threatening attitude of the lower classes, the great nobles gave way, and the king consented to return.

The agreement arrived at is known as »The Recess of Västerås», and its wording suggests that it had been dictated by Gustavus himself. In the first place, all present undertook to stamp out sedition, intrigue and rebellion. Secondly, the king was empowered to take radical steps to improve the financial position of the country: the bishops were to give up their fortified castles and be content with a greatly reduced income: the resources of the cathedrals, except such as were required for their proper upkeep, should

revert to the crown: monastic property should be administered by trustworthy noblemen, appointed by the king: monks and nuns were to be entitled to the necessaries of life, but the remainder of the income of the monasteries should be applied to the maintenance of a standing army and other State services. Thirdly, it was decided that the nobles should be enriched by recovering such of their estates as had been given, mortgaged, or sold to the ecclesiastical foundations, since the reign of Karl Knutsson. Fourthly it was agreed that the denunciation of preachers accused of heretical teaching should cease, and that »everywhere in the kingdom the word of God should be expounded plainly and purely».

Gustavus had won the day. The agreement was signed and sealed with great solemnity by the temporal Lords of the Council as well as by representatives of the gentry, burghers and miners. The Council also explained the agreement in an open letter, copies of which were handed to trustworthy emissaries to be read publicly in every part of the country.

In the Recess of Västerås *(Västerås Recess)* the clause that »everywhere in the kingdom the word of God should be expounded plainly and purely» was practically the only reference made to theological matters. The latter were dealt with in what is called *Västerås ordinantia.* These ordinances were probably drafted by Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae, and sanctioned by the Council before being communicated to the bishops and chapters. The ordinances were intended to restore order in and to define the position of the Church. The old organisation with its bishops and chapters was retained, but no longer subject to the authority of Rome. Henceforward the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts should be confined almost entirely to matters of Church discipline. The fi-

nances of the Church were to be administered by the king. The bishops were admonished to see that the clergy, especially in rural parishes, fulfilled their duties with zeal and integrity, that abuses were discontinued, and that school children were instructed in the gospel and taught the fundamental truths of the Christian faith. These seemingly moderate regulations deprived the Church in Sweden of its position as an international and independent corporation within the realm. In Bishop Hans Brask's *entourage* »Västerås' Ordinantia» were spoken of as »King Gustavus' decrees against the liberty of the Church».

Bishop Hans saw the futility of further resistance. Outwardly, he was reconciled to the king during the summer of 1527 and obtained leave to visit Gottland, which still formed part of his diocese, although politically it belonged to Denmark. From Visby he travelled to Danzig, and remained there in the hope that altered conditions at home would make it possible for him to return to Sweden. Bishop Hans' flight removed one of the king's most formidable opponents. But Gustavus was annoyed to think that the bishop had escaped with large sums of money, and might join his enemies in exile, who were secretly plotting against his throne.

The Papal Curia had in 1524 approved the election of Petrus Magni, warden of St. Birgitta's house in Rome, to the bishopric of Västerås. He was the last Swedish bishop to be consecrated by the pope. Subsequently, Bishop Petrus Magni himself consecrated the first Swedish Protestant bishop, and thus the traditional »Apostolic Succession» was preserved. Gustavus Vasa seems to have hesitated before taking steps to fill the archbishopric, vacant since the exile of the traitorous Gustavus Trolle. But in 1531 Laurentius Petri, brother of Olaus, was, with the approval of the king, duly enthroned as archbishop of Uppsala.

Three years later, on the death of Gustavus Trolle, the pope consecrated Johannes Magni the former papal nuncio (p. 128) as Catholic Archbishop of Sweden. Johannes, and after him his younger brother Olaus, considered themselves lawful archbishops of Sweden but lived on in Rome, without attempting to assert their rights in their old country. The pope was engrossed in problems nearer home and left the Swedish clergy to fend for themselves. Olaus Magni employed his leisure in Rome in writing a history of Sweden, in which he depicted her ancient glory, and extolled the valour of her kings and heroes far back into a mythical past. His point of view is curiously different from that of his contemporary, Olaus Petri, who also wrote a Swedish history. The historical as well as the religious writings of Olaus Petri were characterized by an intense desire for truth. To him the records of the dead were a solemn warning to the living, and a true knowledge of the past a challenge to improve the present.

At a meeting of influential churchmen in Örebro (1529), under the presidency of Laurentius Andreae, the essential differences in doctrine and ritual between the old and the reformed faiths were outlined. The meeting pronounced against the worship of saints, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Latin mass and the monastic rules. It was further explained that ceremonies and ornaments (e.g. holy water, images, the blessing of candles, the ringing of bells), as well as such devout acts as fasting and pilgrimage, did not in themselves possess power to save. They were helpful merely as a means of inspiration and self-discipline. In spite of the moderation of these views, it is easy to understand an entry in the chronicle of Vadstena monastery, stating that three fathers who had gone to the meeting to combat Luther's heresy, returned »thoroughly perturbed». At this meeting, too, the clergy were admon-

ished »not to decry each other in the pulpit», but to settle their differences privately »so as not to provoke the people».

* *
*

The reformation of the Swedish Church was the outstanding event of Gustavus Vasa's reign. It was the turning-point in the history of the country, and decided for centuries to come the course of foreign policy, as well as of internal affairs. Fortunately, both for Sweden and for himself, Gustavus was able to carry through the decisions of Västerås' *Riksdag* without much delay or interference and to consolidate his own position, so that when a few years later serious danger again threatened from the outside, the country was prepared to meet it.

Owing to the prominent part the peasants of Dalarna had played under Engelbrekt, the Stures, and again under Gustavus himself, they had become particularly conceited and self-willed. They were easily tempted to new revolts by plausible arguments against the king or in favour of the Sture family. There was a serious outbreak in 1527 (p. 133), led by an adventurer, known as the *Daljunker,* who professed to be Nils Sture, elder son of Sten Sture the younger and Christina Gyllenstjerna. He obtained support from Norway, entered Dalarna, and set the whole country ablaze. The rebellion was suppressed in the summer of 1527, and the impostor fled to Rostock, where he was executed at the request of the Swedish king. The real Nils Sture, who had taken no part in the revolt, died the same year. His brother Svante also remained loyal to the king, though his and his mother's position and popularity were sometimes embarrassing to Gustavus' royal prestige.

The spirit of unrest in Dalarna was, however, fostered by monks and priests of the old faith, who incited the

country people against the godless heresies of the king. In 1531 the smouldering embers of revolt were kindled into flame by a material grievance which stirred the countryside.

Gustavus had made use of the resources of the Church in establishing an ordered government and adequate military forces. The debt to Lübeck he intended to repay from a special source: at a meeting in Örebro in the winter of 1531, he carried a proposal that all country churches should, as the city churches had already done, sacrifice their second largest bell for this purpose. Bishops and other prominent men were deputed to make this decision known at the *Things,* and to allay any misgivings that might be felt. There was, however, a great outcry, and more so in Dalarna than elsewhere. The peasants refused to deliver their bells. They met the king's tax collectors with blows, and placed armed men to guard their borders. This was too much for Gustavus' patience, and he decided to give his recalcitrant subjects a lesson which they would not easily forget. He entered Dalarna with a strong force, and commanded the peasants to meet him at *Kopparberg*. Resistance was impossible. The ringleaders, several of them old friends and supporters of the king, were given up and executed. The rest were compelled to endure meekly the king's indignant castigation. This lesson had a lasting effect, and there was no further trouble in Dalarna.

A few years earlier an even more dangerous conspiracy threatened in Västergötland, where Ture Jönsson and his friends tried to bring about a general rising. But the king was on his guard, the common people held aloof, and several of the chief conspirators were caught, while Ture Jönsson managed to escape abroad. The prisoners, all of noble birth, were brought before a *Riksdag* in Strängnäs in 1529. They were found guilty of high treason and exe-

cuted, a clear indication that Gustavus was no respecter of persons when law and order were in danger.

This example was a timely warning, for as we shall see, yet another storm, which had long been gathering force, now threatened to break. As the years went by, a number of men found themselves obliged to leave the king's service and seek refuge abroad. Several influential Swedish refugees have already been mentioned, there were also many foreigners amongst them. During the whole of Gustavus' reign, especially in the early years, he experienced great difficulty in finding a sufficient number of able and cultured Swedes to fill the various administrative posts under the Crown. Many of the more capable men had lost their lives during the civil wars, and little help could be expected from the Church. Moreover, even in normal times, men of learning and wide experience of the world are none too common in a poor country with a small population. Gustavus therefore made use of foreigners, for the most part Germans of noble birth, who had seen service in the continental wars and were versed in the rules and etiquette of diplomacy. These foreigners came to Sweden to seek their fortune but found the Swedish king a far more exacting and difficult master than many of them anticipated. Gustavus strictly supervised their work, severely reprimanding any neglect of it. He was susceptible where his own dignity was concerned and, his suspicions once aroused, he could be unreasonable and too ready to view doubtful actions in the worst possible light. Alienated by this attitude, several foreign subordinates retired from his service. Amongst these was Bernt von Mehlen, who was once high in the king's favour and held the important castle of Kalmar as a fief. Gustavus sent von Mehlen to reconquer Gottland. He mismanaged the expedition and thereby incurred the serious displeasure of the king. He now treacher-

ously approached Christian II's friends, but found it expedient to escape from Kalmar, which soon afterwards was recaptured by Gustavus. Von Mehlen fled to Germany and made himself known as a bitter enemy of the Swedish king, attacking him in speeches and in pamphlets with the utmost violence.

Nobody could be better pleased with abuse of Gustavus Vasa than his old antagonist Christian II. He had settled down in the Netherlands, under the protection of his brother-in-law, Charles V, but had not met with a particularly warm welcome. He had made many attempts, both in the Netherlands and in other countries, to organize an armed expedition to the North, whereby he hoped to regain his power. The emperor disapproved of Christian's Lutheran sympathies and only gave him half-hearted promises of help. In the meantime all manner of fugitives and adventurers from Scandinavia gathered round Christian. Gustavus Trolle had for years shared his changing fortunes, Ture Jönsson found his way to the Netherlands, and, without doubt, Hans Brask, from his retreat in Danzig, communicated with these exiles. They kept in touch with friends in the home countries, and there seemed good reason to expect a large following if Christian returned with a strong army. He was particularly hopeful to win Norway, which would serve as a base for future operations against Sweden and Denmark.

At last Charles V saw his way to give Christian more definite help. Political events had taken a more favourable turn to the Habsburg interests. As Christian, induced by Trolle, sought reconciliation with Rome, Charles could now look upon this Scandinavian expedition as part of his assiduous fight against the disintegrating forces of Protestantism. With the aid of Spanish gold Christian was able to hire troops and arm ships, and in October 1531 he

set sail from Zuider Zee, bringing with him about 7000 men on some thirty ships, destined for a Norwegian port. Little but disappointment was in store for him. He met with an enthusiastic reception in Norway, but failed to take Akershus fort at Oslo, and an attack on the Swedish province of Västergötland from Bohuslän miscarried. A Danish army arrived in Oslo, and Christian surrendered to his uncle, King Frederick, who, contrary to his word, made him a prisoner for the rest of his life. Thus Christian himself disappeared from the scene, but his name continued to be a political force, still destined to give rise to future unrest.

Christian's most ardent supporters were to be found amongst the Danish burghers, the larger cities like Copenhagen and Malmö having faithfully adhered to his cause. He was also popular with the Danish peasantry, the more so as his successor in Denmark increasingly relied on the nobility for support, giving them a free hand over their tenants. The enterprising politicians of Lübeck were well aware of these facts and made clever use of the popularity of the dethroned and imprisoned monarch to further their own ends. As we have seen, the cooperation of Lübeck with Gustavus Vasa and Frederick I of Denmark was only of short duration (p. 115). Their interests were too conflicting to render joint action possible for any length of time. Gustavus found the demands of Lübeck for repayment of the Swedish loan extortionate and haggled over the amount to be repaid. By 1532 Gustavus considered that Sweden had discharged her debt, but not so the burghers of Lübeck. Gustavus also showed his intention of disregarding the trade agreement of 1523 with Lübeck and the other Hanseatic towns. Already in 1525 he granted privileges to merchants from the Netherlands, which could not easily be reconciled with the previous concessions made to the

Hansa. He encouraged trading between Lödöse and Dutch ports — the most formidable rivals of the Baltic cities. Lübeck thus found Gustavus increasingly difficult to deal with, and her burghers began to listen to the plans of the enterprising but somewhat unscrupulous Jörgen Wullenwever, hoping that under his leadership Lübeck would for all time reestablish her commercial supremacy in the North. Frederick I of Denmark died in 1533. He had shown decided Protestant leanings, and the Danish Council, a strongly Roman Catholic body, deferred the election of his successor, in the hope of breaking the power of the Protestant party in Denmark. This manoeuvre roused the Lutheran citizens of Malmö and Copenhagen, and the watchful Wullenwever decided that the time had come for Lübeck to strike her blow. Lübeck already possessed a powerful navy, and had lately raised a strong army of mercenaries, commanded by a Count of Oldenburg, after whom the ensuing struggle has been called »The Count's War» (*Grevefejden*). In the summer of 1534 the Count's army landed in Sjaelland, whereupon the inhabitants of the cities demanded the reinstatement of Christian, and the peasants rose in revolt against their feudal oppressors. Lübeck hoped to obtain definite trade privileges from Christian II in return for her support. She also intended to annex the strategically and commercially important island of Gottland. Wullenwever's ambitious plans even included the offer of the suzerainty of the Scandinavian countries to Henry VIII of England. The conditions laid down by Henry were, however, unacceptable to Lübeck, and the scheme of securing the cooperation of the powerful English king fell through. »The Count's War» had many features in common with the terrible peasant revolts in Germany, in both cases the fury of the peasantry seeking vengeance on the aristocracy. While the eastern parts of Denmark were in the throes of civil war, and an invading

army had secured a footing on its shores, the nobles in the western counties rallied round Christian, son of the late King Frederick I, and elected him king in August 1534. Christian III and his party began to mobilize vigorously, and turned to Gustavus Vasa for help. Gustavus speedily sent both warships and heavily armed troops. The army of Lübeck was beaten by the combined Danish—Swedish forces at Øxnebjerg on Fyen (1535). On the field lay, seriously wounded, the famous Archbishop Trolle, whose chequered life shortly afterwards came to an end. The peasants in Sjaelland were severely punished for their revolt. A Swedish —Danish naval force destroyed the fleet of Lübeck, after which the rebellious cities, Malmö and Copenhagen, were blockaded and starved into submission.

Lübeck was forced to conclude a treaty of peace (1536 —37) very different from that anticipated by the sanguine Wullenwever. Before the treaty was ratified, Wullenwever had been deposed from his influential position. His fellow townsmen were compelled to submit to the stipulation of Gustavus, that all outstanding claims between Sweden and Lübeck should be cancelled; further, that Swedish subjects should have the right to trade freely beyond the limits of the Baltic. This meant that Lübeck's trade monopoly was broken, and that Gustavus in the future could determine his own economic policy without foreign interference. The threatened danger of the restoration of Christian II was practically a thing of the past, though the possibility still existed that Charles V might once again espouse his cause. For this reason the Swedish and Danish kings endeavoured to effect a *rapprochement* with Charles' hereditary enemy, Francis I of France. Northern Europe had at last emerged from its twenty years of strife and turmoil.

* *
*

Gustavus' prestige and authority increased with his successes. Foreign countries had at first shown little confidence in the new Swedish king, a natural result of the instability of former Swedish governments. Hence the early proposals of marriage made by Gustavus to various foreign princesses had not been favourably received. In 1531, however, he married a German princess, Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg. From a political point of view Gustavus gained little by this alliance, for his bride had neither wealth nor influential connections. She was also delicate and pined in the unknown country. Her only son, Eric, was born in 1533, and she herself died two years later. After the death of Catherine, Gustavus married (1536) a Swedish lady, Margaret Leijonhufvud, a member of an ancient and noble family. This marriage was a happy one and lasted till the death of the queen in 1552. Three sons, John, Magnus and Charles, and several daughters survived her. For the first time for nearly 200 years there was a Swedish-born royal family, giving promise of the establishment of a new ruling dynasty. Gustavus married as his third wife Catherine Stenbock, a niece of Margaret Leijonhufvud.

Stern and exacting in public life, in private Gustavus could be the most engaging and courteous of men. Even when immersed in serious business, he would think of the comfort and pleasure of his wife and children. He loved sometimes to put all cares aside and to enjoy himself with his family and his friends. On these occasions his humour and power of enjoyment were given full play. The old chronicler says that »all who heard that His Majesty was preparing a banquet, hastened to ride thither — albeit they had many leagues to travel — if only to see His Majesty's merrymaking». Gustavus combined royal dignity with a natural and easy manner. On his travels through the country the common people found him approachable and

ready to help them. They appreciated both his interest in their affairs and his shrewd practical judgment. It is related that when the king attended meetings up and down the country, the people often refused to listen to other members of the royal party but »would cry out and entreat His Majesty to speak himself». It is this aspect, Gustavus as the benevolent and majestic land-father, that the Swedes have learnt to love; but Gustavus the efficient ruler and the hard and exacting master was necessary to bring order out of chaos and to accomplish the reorganization of the kingdom.

Gustavus saw clearly that the future of Sweden depended on a powerful monarchy based on a financial position sufficiently strong to enable the king to assert his authority over any turbulent section of the community. In his endeavour to strengthen the central power, Gustavus pursued much the same policy as that previously adopted by the French and Spanish monarchs. His neighbour, the king of Denmark, also followed a similar course. This tendency is discussed by Sir John Fortescue in his remarkable work, »On the Governance of England», with reference to the domestic policy of the houses of York and Lancaster. Himself a Lancastrian, Sir John nevertheless points out the need for the Yorkist policy of enriching and strengthening the Crown. The comparatively primitive economic conditions prevailing in Sweden made it necessary to resort to a system in which money was little used. Gustavus therefore organized an administration based mainly on »natural economy», attempting at the same time to overcome the deficiencies of medieval feudal government by exercising a more rigid control.

Under the then existing economic conditions, landed property was the only reliable source of revenue and therefore of power. Gustavus' policy, therefore, was to increase the royal domains as well as his private estates. Already in

the early years of his reign he exercised strict supervision over such vassals as held enfeoffments under the Crown. He made sure that they recognized their dependence and fulfilled their duties. By degrees he established the practice that they should maintain a definite number of fully armed soldiers and render account to the king of any revenue above what was required for this purpose. Gustavus himself claimed to be the sole heir of Sten Sture the elder and his wife, who in their day had been the largest private owners of property in the kingdom. This claim was not legally indisputable, but Gustavus vigorously pressed it in order to secure the ownership of considerable areas. The decisions taken at Västerås in 1527 concerning the bishops' castles and the resources of the Church gave a new stimulus to this policy. It is estimated that the king increased his private property until it included some 5,000 estates and farms, at the same time adding about 11,000 to the royal domains. While fully exploiting his own rights and those of the Crown, Gustavus did not altogether approve when the nobles took similar advantage of the rights conceded to them.

Practically all the revenue of the Crown was paid in kind, and it was a laborious task to collect and utilize such varied products as grain, dried or salted meat, butter, fish, venison, skins, timber and ironware. Gustavus divided the whole country into small areas, in each of which a bailiff *(fogde)* was appointed to collect the taxes and other dues. The bailiffs delivered the proceeds to an officer of the king at the nearest castle or other royal domain. It was the duty of this officer to distribute the various products to the best advantage. Some were used for the needs of the king and his retinue, some for the maintenance of troops garrisoned at the castle, some again were sent to dépôts in the cities and from thence exported abroad. In order to prevent embezzlement or waste, the king insisted on a rigid control

by the treasury of all accounts presented by the bailiffs and other officers of the Crown. He himself travelled almost incessantly from one castle to another, entering into every detail of administration, and punishing the least sign of fraud with merciless severity.

Such State administration was necessarily closely bound up with practical farming. The king was keenly alive to the advantages of improved methods of agriculture, and encouraged the freeholders to copy the excellent way in which his own estates and those of the Crown were managed. He was particularly insistent that wild beasts should be kept in check, as losses of farm stock were frequent, owing to the depredations of wolves, lynxes and bears. In order to exploit further possible sources of revenue, and to raise the standard of efficiency of the Swedish metal industries, Gustavus invited the help of expert German miners. This was a natural thing to do, for the German mining industry had made a big stride forward, and German mining capitalists possessed mines in both Spain and England. The mines in the English Lake district, for instance, were worked by Germans. Improved methods of working were introduced into numerous Swedish mines: the copper mine at Falun *(Kopparberg)*, the silver mine at Sala, and a great number of iron mines. Blast furnaces were enlarged, and new forges, driven by water power, constructed. Gustavus advised his subjects, especially the city merchants, to organize the foreign trade, to fix uniform prices for their commodities, and to reduce administrative expenses by cooperation. Such manysided activities must obviously have involved almost incredible exertions on the part of the king. As he grew old, and his strength began to wane, Gustavus seldom lost an opportunity of drawing attention to his ceaseless toil for the good of his country. He had indeed worn himself out in establishing a new order in Sweden.

Gustavus was fully aware of the impression produced by a display of royal magnificence, both on the common people and on foreigners, and was ready, when necessary, to lay aside his customary economy in order to enhance his prestige. He transformed several old castles, such as those of Stockholm and Kalmar, into palatial residences for his court. He also strengthened their fortifications, thereby greatly increasing their strategic importance. Several former ecclesiastical palaces and larger monasteries were similarly altered, e. g. Tynnelsö and Gripsholm on Lake Mälar, and used as military barracks as well as temporary royal residences. New castles were erected in Uppsala and Vadstena. The former was probably intended as a warning to the archbishop, one of its towers being called *Styrbiskop* (»Rule Bishop»). The castle of Vadstena on Lake Vätter, which commanded the South, was a stronghold from which troops could be readily moved to any point of danger. The castles in Uppsala and Vadstena and also certain parts of the Royal Castle of Kalmar have perhaps best preserved their original architectural features — Stockholm's old Royal Castle has unfortunately been destroyed by fire. The massive structure of Uppsala Castle is still impressive. Vadstena Castle has suffered much from neglect, but remains nevertheless a fine example of the so-called »Vasa-style».

The work of the Reformation in Sweden progressed for some years after the vital decisions of 1527 and 1529 without any remarkable events or conflicts. The Swedish reformers showed great tolerance towards beliefs and customs which were still precious to the common people. They worked zealously to educate able clergy and laid particular stress on their pastoral duties, encouraging them to be the spiritual teachers and guides of their parishioners. By personal intercourse, especially by frequent visits to country parishes, the newly elected bishops could do much to enlight-

en their subordinates. Also, by actively interesting themselves in the already existing cathedral schools, they could promote education on a still broader basis. The teaching in these schools chiefly consisted of general religious instruction and above all of the careful study of the New Testament. There were, however, no means of obtaining a more advanced theological training in the country. In spite of the zeal of its founder (p. 97), the University of Uppsala had never flourished, and it had not yet revived from the devastating effects of the civil war. Those young scholars who desired to devote themselves to serious study were therefore obliged to go abroad, generally to one or other of the famous German universities.

The Swedish reformers strongly disapproved of violent or extreme measures. No persecutions or image-breaking followed in their footsteps. By degrees, desirable alterations were carried through. Saints' days were secularized, priests were allowed to marry, the services were conducted entirely in Swedish, and at the Holy Communion lay people were permitted to partake of both elements. The reasons for these gradual changes were explained so simply and yet convincingly, that the fears of loyal church people were alleviated. The Swedes, naturally disinclined for fanaticism, were on the whole satisfied with the changed order. Laurentius Petri, the first Protestant archbishop (1531—73), was keenly alive to the need for more definite rules regarding services and church government as well as for some approved Articles of Faith. Not until 1571, two years before his death, did he however publish a Church Manual, in which he embodied his lifelong experience with moderation and reason. A time had then arrived when heated theological controversy threatened to endanger the very existence of the Swedish Church.

The comparatively peaceful development of the Church

under the personal leadership of its foremost men did not proceed entirely without interference from Gustavus Vasa. Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae tried to vindicate a greater independence on behalf of the Church than Gustavus was prepared to sanction. Olaus Petri had been appointed the king's chancellor in succession to Laurentius Andreae in 1531, but relinquished his political duties after two years, having found them incompatible with his independence of thought. Gustavus evidently did not regret this decision, for he referred afterwards to Olaus' services in far from flattering terms. Olaus, in the opinion of Gustavus, was no more competent to act as his chancellor than »a donkey to play the lute» or a »Frisian cow to spin silk». Olaus with his independent religious outlook did not find it easy to give his undivided support to the king, who was often unscrupulous in his methods as well as utilitarian in his aims. Both acted on principle, but their standpoints were fundamentally different. Olaus had for instance endorsed Gustavus' policy of appropriating the superfluous wealth of the Church. He disapproved, however, of the almost miserly way in which the king amassed a large part of this wealth in the treasury. Olaus held the opinion that at least a portion thereof should be used for humanitarian and educational needs, and he alluded in his Swedish history to »people who without consideration wish to lay hands on all things». Writing about the great Folkung Magnus Ladulås (»Barn-lock», p. 54), he continues: »and this name »Barn-lock» is an honest name, from which King Magnus derives more honour and praise than if he had been called a Roman Emperor. There are not many in this world who can truly be called »Barn-lock». Barn-breaking has always been more common.»

Olaus' outspoken criticism both in his writings and his sermons did not please Gustavus, and he began to suspect

that the independent reformers wished to establish a new and powerful hierarchy in the place of the old. Gustavus favoured the attitude of Luther and his fellow-workers who had allowed the Protestant German princes to exercise a far-reaching influence in church matters. He was supported in this view by his German civil servants who had imbibed many of the traditions and customs of their own country and were ready tools in the king's hand. They began to organize innovations which would eventually place the Church entirely under the control of the king and his instruments. It is easy to understand that such a policy would meet with strong opposition from men like Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae. At a stormy meeting in 1539 it came to an open break. Shortly afterwards the two leading reformers were imprisoned, and after an unfair trial condemned to death for high treason (1540). The members of the court must, however, have felt uncomfortable after having pronounced this sentence, and sent a deputation to the king asking him to pardon the prisoners. Gustavus' chief aim had been to crush these inconveniently outspoken subjects. This aim had now been accomplished, and they were both released, Laurentius Andreae after paying his whole fortune as a ransom. An equally large sum was raised on behalf of Olaus Petri by the citizens of Stockholm to save the life of their beloved teacher. They were both allowed to continue in their work but did not regain their former influence. The king soon found it expedient to proceed with more caution in his church policy, and therefore the downfall of the two reformers did not seriously hamper the development of the Church.

It has already been mentioned how Gustavus met with opposition when he demanded one bell from each church in order to pay the debt to Lübeck (p. 117). His confiscation of church land did not touch the people's imagination

and sense of proprietorship or justice in the same way, and therefore proceeded comparatively unnoticed, especially as the tenants were allowed to remain undisturbed. But Gustavus again stirred up trouble by sending his bailiffs to collect »superfluous» church plate. He intented to turn such plate as was no longer actually used, into ready money. The common people, on the other hand, held these sacred vessels in superstitious reverence, and rose up against what they regarded as robbery. This time, the centre of rebellion was Småland. Bordering on Denmark, this province had for centuries been the scene of violence during frequent wars. The population was excitable and accustomed to fighting. The topographical irregularities, trackless forests, innumerable streams and rivers and bottomless marshes of this large province afforded excellent hiding places for outlaws and rebels. But by his attempt to appropriate church plate, Gustavus kindled a spirit of rebellion also amongst the law-abiding members of the population, who made common cause with the restless and homeless elements of the wilds. Under the effective leadership of Nils Dacke (1542), the rebellion spread into neighbouring provinces and, time after time, the king's forces were beaten. Gustavus had good reason to fear trouble in other parts of the country, as well as foreign support for the rebels. In the end he mastered the situation by concentrating all his resources. He fully realised how narrowly he had escaped defeat, and afterwards proceeded with more caution in matters regarding which the people were particularly sensitive.

»The Dacke War», as the Småland insurrection was called, showed up certain deficiencies in the armed forces, which Gustavus had maintained in order to augment the feudal levies of the nobility. The royal army consisted of enlisted soldiers who in small detachments were stationed at various royal castles. This army was expensive to maintain,

and was therefore necessarily small. It had proved inadequate in a real emergency and, with its large element of foreign adventurers, none too reliable. Gustavus began therefore to set up detachments of infantry, so-called *fänikor* (one *fänika* could number some 500 men and corresponded approximately to the modern battalion). The soldiers joined by voluntary enlistment. Many of them lived in peacetime on their small holdings, and their pay and maintenance were therefore not heavy. These *fänikor* were the beginning of Sweden's infantry regiments, connected with her various provinces, and they increased rapidly in numbers. In equipment and training they may not have compared favourably with foreign professional soldiers, but they became nevertheless of the utmost importance to the king, especially in his difficult task of keeping order in the country. Gustavus himself, and still more his son Eric, was much interested in this scheme, and took great pains to raise the *fänikor,* and to improve their equipment and training. Gustavus was also aware of the need for a strong navy, and built new ships of a large type, which stood their first encounter with honour during the war with Lübeck.

* *
*

Gustavus Vasa had succeeded, where so many before him had failed, in resurrecting the idea of kingship, which had been almost an empty word in Sweden during her long union with Denmark. He had cemented the Swedish people into a nation, no longer dictated to by foreign rulers or by Roman Catholic prelates. He had organized a carefully supervized administration, filled the empty treasury, and created an effective military machine. With these powerful resources behind him, he had no need to submit to arrogant individuals or parties in the community. He was a new type

of ruler in Sweden, well fitted to correspond to the Royal Majesty, to which Lutheran Protestantism demanded obedience in all temporal matters. According to Luther's political philosophy the State was an expression of God's orderly government, and therefore the King was ultimately invested with divine authority. Thus the official Lutheran Church gave religious sanction to Gustavus' actual power.

Building on such theories, as well as on continental judicial principles current at the time, Gustavus proceeded, by the aid of his German counsellors, to frame several new laws. These were intended to safeguard the Swedish monarchy against a return of civil war and foreign interference, when Gustavus' commanding personality would no longer lead the destinies of the country. He also desired to raise the House of Vasa to a permanent position of power and glory, and leave what he had won by incessant toil to his descendants as a proud and lasting heritage.

In medieval Sweden, the crown as a rule descended from father to son or to another male representative of a royal dynasty (p. 35). But the Swedish crown was not entailed, and each new king had to be duly elected. Claimants of royal descent had the preference at the elections, and more than once we find that the ruling king during his lifetime had his eldest son formally chosen as his successor. But any attempt to establish an hereditary kingdom had been assiduously resisted by the Swedish aristocracy. Gustavus was convinced that these royal elections, which so often gave rise to fierce partisanship and even bloody encounters, had more than any other cause contributed to the disintegration and decadence of Sweden.

The Swedish constitution became changed by Gustavus' laws of succession, the most important of which were the so-called *Arvförening,* or Pact of Succession, of Västerås (1544) and Gustavus' will (1560). According to these

decrees, the Swedish crown should be entailed in the Vasa dynasty: his eldest son, Eric, and afterwards Eric's male heirs, should succeed Gustavus on the throne. Should Eric's line die out, Gustavus' younger sons or their male descendants should inherit the kingdom by the right of primogeniture. Gustavus provided for his daughters by marrying them to German princes. His sons John, Magnus and Charles were given large fiefs, in which they should rule as independent dukes, while still recognizing the suzerainty of the king.

Such possessions were the only available means of securing to the three princes an income and a position worthy of their rank. There were obvious advantages in the distribution of power and responsibility, as well as of land, between the king and his brothers. Even Gustavus had found the burden of government weigh heavily on his shoulders in his endeavour to unite and control such an extensive country. On the other hand, these provisions constituted grave dangers, more especially as the personal relations between the brothers were delicate and easily might develop into open friction. Gustavus tried to impress on his sons the tremendous responsibility resting on them as joint heirs to the kingdom, and admonished them to continue his work in a spirit of cooperation. How they fulfilled these expectations the following pages will set forth.

It would be interesting to know how these constitutional alterations in the Swedish succession were received at the time. We have information that the Danish king strongly disapproved of these laws, which cut at the root of his hopes to reestablish his dynasty on the Swedish throne. As to Swedish public opinion, we are left chiefly to conjecture. No doubt the three lower classes, clergy, burghers and peasants, were favourably disposed to Gustavus' mea-

sures. The nobles, who had increased in numbers and in wealth during Gustavus' long and prosperous reign, had given way to the strong personality of the old king; but were they equally ready to submit to a young ruler? And again, was it desirable to their class that Gustavus' orderly administration should continue? Did not many of them rather look forward to a restoration of the old order, when the supreme authority lay in the hands of the »Council of the Realm»? There is no way of definitely answering these questions, but it may be surmised by the trend of events during the next half century, that the members of the old aristocracy had not forgotten the former influence of their class.

Gustavus could, as his life drew to a close, look back with justifiable pride on a career which had made him, an ordinary nobleman, one of the most powerful monarchs of his day. He had led his country out of foreign bondage, strife and decadence, into liberty, order and prosperity. From the New Year 1521, when he raised the national banner in revolt against Christian II, to September 29th, 1560, when he closed his eyes for ever in the Royal Palace at Stockholm, he had on the whole gone from one victory to another. His greatest successes were not won in the field of battle, but in the work of peace. Patiently and persistently he added stone after stone to the structure which in centuries to come would be severely shaken, and yet remain.

In many ways propitious circumstances had favoured Gustavus' cause. If Christian II had not made so many enemies and undermined his own power by his cruel and reckless use of force, the Swedish war of independence would have met with far greater opposition. Again, the Reformation, by breaking down old beliefs and traditions, paved the way for fresh political enterprises which at an earlier date would have been impossible. The instability of

European politics was often perplexing, but its very changeableness allowed Gustavus to keep in touch with different powers and steer an independent course. While recognizing these circumstances, we do not wish to minimize the wise statesmanship of Gustavus, which enabled him to use a favourable situation to the full.

Gustavus was no scholar; his knowledge came from his experience of life rather than from books. His personality and attainments stand out very clearly in the innumerable letters and other communications, which were sent out from government offices during his long reign. They have been collected and published in 29 volumes under the title of *Konung Gustav 1stes Registratur*. Only a very small number of these documents can have been written by the king's own hand. Most of them were probably dictated by him or drawn up according to his instructions. All those that he inspired in detail bear a strong imprint of his personality. They are not conspicuous — any more than are the preserved fragments of his speeches — for great literary style. The Bible is probably the only book from which he borrowed phrases and metaphors, unless one takes into account a few purely political pamphlets, which he refers to for polemic reasons. Gustavus' aims were practical, and he chose arguments and expressions suitable for the comparatively uneducated public, to which he generally addressed himself. His thoughts were formulated in a concise and happy way, revealing an inborn mastery of expression, as well as psychological insight and extensive practical knowledge. In addition to his remarkable statesmanship and his neverfailing courage and energy, he possessed a commanding and handsome exterior, which made him every inch a leader and a king. In his motto *Omnis Potestas a Deo,* »All power is of God», Gustavus no doubt expressed his genuine gratitude to the Giver of all good things, but he must

also have realized that those gifts had not been bestowed on one who was unworthy of them.

The later years of Gustavus' life were darkened, in spite of his outward success, by shadows emanating from his own family. Gustavus had endeavoured to provide in the best possible way for his children's future. His three sons Eric, John and Charles who were successively to become kings of Sweden had received a very careful education and were initiated in the most profound learning of their age, as well as trained in all such accomplishments as behoved their princely rank. But they were hot-tempered, Eric showing in addition a lack of balance which might have sinister consequences. He squandered large sums of money on display and riotous pleasures — much to his careful father's annoyance — but his haughtiness and instability gave the old king still graver anxiety. After considering several marriageable princesses, Eric decided to woo Queen Elizabeth of England. His father pointed out the obvious futility of this project, but Eric proved obstinate and wanted to sail across to England with a large and splendid escort, in order to make his proposal of marriage in person. Finally, to Eric's great dismay, the king vetoed his journey, but the whole incident added to Gustavus' apprehensions regarding his son's fitness for the duties of a king.

In Sweden the verdict of posterity has been almost entirely in favour of Gustavus. Whatever may be said against his autocratic and suspicious nature, his hasty temper and occasional unreasonableness — defects with which his own children also came in contact — it must be remembered that he put his country first, and acted from a sense of duty rather than from personal motives. His grandson Gustavus Adolphus summed up his contribution to Swedish history in the following words: »This king Gustavus was the instrument by which God again raised up our fatherland

to prosperity», and this verdict still holds good. Swedes in different ages have emphasized different aspects of his personality and of his work. The eighteenth century recognized in him sometimes the national champion of liberty, sometimes the peaceful and wise »land-father». Gustavus III paid homage to the former idea, when he inspired the poet Kellgren to write his opera *Gustav Vasa.* Sweden's aristocracy honoured the latter, when they raised his statue in front of their »Palace of the Nobility» in Stockholm. E. G. Geijer published a brief but comprehensive study of Gustavus Vasa in 1834, and more recent historians have by their investigations and clear analysis thrown further light on his dominating character. The Swedish people have united in grateful remembrance of their country's deliverance through him from foreign supremacy. And especially have his early dangers and successes in Dalarna been the theme of an ever flourishing tradition.

While recognizing the gigantic work which Gustavus I performed during his reign, we must bear in mind that he built on the foundation of the existing judicial institutions of the Swedish community. The ordered system which the law was intended to safeguard, had been temporarily disturbed during the violent struggles of the later middle ages, but in essentials it remained intact. The advantages accruing from the protection of the law naturally imposed on the community as a whole the duty of upholding its statutes. This duty had not been lost sight of even in times of greatest stress, a circumstance which gave an important element of stability to society. This inherited social order had been endangered chiefly by the weakening of the central authority. Independent corporations and private bodies had usurped such a degree of power and influence that the unity of the State was threatened, and the administration of justice seriously handicapped. When King Gustavus reestablished

a central authority, he was able to appeal to the innate responsibility of the community to uphold law and order. If his actions appeared ruthless and even revolutionary to his own age as, for instance, when he destroyed the independent power of the Church, he nevertheless applied the fundamental principles of the Swedish constitution. This enabled the resurrected kingdom to withstand the serious dangers with which it was to be confronted.

THE YOUNGER VASAS.
1560—1600.

GUSTAVUS HAD BEEN under no false illusions as to the many dangers ahead: the enmity of neighbouring states, attempts to overthrow the Reformation, and endeavours to undermine the central power in favour of particular sections of the community. Gustavus had therefore in his will entreated his sons in the most emphatic terms to continue his work with united efforts. He had given to each one a position which should raise them above the entire nobility. Together they were to act as leaders of the people, being jointly responsible for the defence of the country, the protection of the Evangelical faith and the maintenance of law and order. Gustavus was fully conscious that in thus distributing the responsibilities of government between his sons he had taken great risks. The success of his policy depended on friendly cooperation between the brothers. Unfortunately they had neither the will nor the capacity for acting in such partnership.

Eric XIV, who ascended the throne at the age of twenty-seven, was the only child of Gustavus by his first wife. His step-brothers, John, Magnus and Charles, were respectively twenty-three, eighteen and ten years of age. In allocating the various provinces to his younger sons, Gustavus had

given Finland to John, Östergötland to Magnus, and Södermanland—Närke—Värmland to Charles, with Åbo, Vadstena and Nyköping as their respective cities of residence. As Magnus soon developed insanity, and Charles was a minor, John alone was able to assert his rights from the first. The brothers had received a very careful education, being instructed in all subjects that were considered appropriate for a young prince. Their individual tastes had developed in different directions. Eric devoted special attention to military science and its practical applications. John became absorbed in theological studies, acquiring real learning in such matters, and throwing himself ardently into the religious controversy of his age. Later on, Charles also exhibited considerable theological knowledge, but was primarily a shrewd practical economist. They were all keenly interested in the fine arts, the aesthetic tastes of Eric and John tempting them to extravagance and display, while Charles was careful and thrifty like his father. Their differences of temperament were particularly noticeable in their attitude to practical tasks of administration. Eric's conspicuous ability was handicapped by lack of balance. Passionate and highly suspicious, sometimes arrogant and sometimes cowardly as is the wont of a jealous temperament, he gradually lost all self-control, and his mental instability developed into insanity. John had a fair share of Eric's hastiness and jealousy and, while not free from tendencies to vacillation, was even more self-conscious and imperious than his elder brother. Charles had inherited much of his father's remarkable statesmanship, but the inclination to petulance and quarrelsomeness which was not entirely foreign to Gustavus, was in him accentuated and only seldom relieved by his father's good-natured humour. The young princes were tall and handsome men, in appearance and accomplishment approaching what their age considered

to be the ideal of a sovereign. But they failed hopelessly in their difficult task of pulling together.

Eric was the immediate cause of open misunderstanding. We know comparatively little about the early relations in the royal family. It seems probable, however, that as a child Eric had felt himself neglected. At the same time he was conscious of being the eldest and of having had a foreign princess for his mother; hence he regarded his younger brothers and sisters with mingled pride and envy. He resented the appointment of his brothers as semi-autonomous princes by his father's will, and immediately set to work to have this changed. At a *Riksdag* in Arboga in the spring of 1561 he carried through important alterations in this will. The power of the dukes in their own provinces was reduced to such an extent that they were entitled to little else than to collect and use the revenues due to the Crown. A few months later magnificent festivities were arranged in connection with Eric's coronation in Uppsala. They greatly surpassed all that had previously been experienced in the country, and Eric took the opportunity of still further lowering the prestige of the dukes while at the same time increasing the splendour of his own court. He instituted two new dignities, conferring on three great noblemen the title of *greve* or count, and on nine others that of *friherre* or baron. There was a sting in the formal proclamation of the royal herald after the coronation: »This be known unto all loyal inhabitants of Sweden, that *one* is your king, that is the illustrious Prince and Lord Eric XIV; and though ye may see more crowns[1] than one, ye must not think that those be royal crowns and royal robes. *One* is king of the realm of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals.«

Undoubtedly the young monarch possessed considerable

[1] In Swedish the same word is used for crown and coronet.

authority in virtue of his position. The whole judicial system was built on respect for the king as the preserver of peace. By the religious ceremony of the coronation his office was sanctified by the Church, for »the powers that be are ordained of God», an utterance which was particularly emphasized in Evangelical countries. The personal supremacy which Gustavus had acquired as a natural result of his force of character and long experience could not be transmitted to his son. Eric benefited instead from having been acknowledged as lawful heir to the throne, and was invested with the power and authority of his father as by divine right. He further strengthened his own influence by curtailing the power of his brothers, whose fiefs soon came under his dominion. Owing to the minority of Charles and the insanity of Magnus, Eric ruled their provinces, and before long the conflict between him and John became so acute that he deprived his brother of Finland.

Eric longed to appear as a magnificent ruler in the eyes of the outside world. He made repeated attempts to win a distinguished foreign bride, who by her presence would add to his own glory and be the means of obtaining favourable political connections. In his father's lifetime he had made a proposal of marriage to Queen Elizabeth of England (p. 161). He persevered with this suit for a long time, although he had small prospect of success. It seems possible that his creation of hereditary titles was prompted partly by a desire to make his court more like the English. At the same time he made advances to other princesses, to Mary, Queen of Scots, to a daughter of the Elector Philip of Hesse, and to Princess Renée of Lorraine who inherited the claims of Christian II of Denmark. He might have been accepted by either of the German princesses but ruined his chances by his own fickleness.

The foreign policy which Eric endeavoured to pursue

was primarily intended to enlist outside help against Denmark. In the very beginning of his reign he had come into conflict with the Danish king. This rivalry was to influence the trend of events in Scandinavia for a whole century to come and to be disastrous to Eric personally.

Gustavus I had been anxious to maintain friendly relations with Christian III of Denmark throughout his reign. In 1559 Christian was succeeded by his young and ambitious son, Frederick II, who was determined to revive the claims of his dynasty in respect of Sweden. When Eric in the following year inherited the Swedish crown, neighbourly feeling became strained, and political developments east of the Baltic gave rise to further complications.

The Teutonic Order, which had ruled in Prussia and in the Baltic provinces (Esthonia, Livonia and Courland), was in a state of dissolution. Its territory was threatened both by Russia and by Poland, while Denmark revived some old claims from the days of Valdemar the Victorious. Finding her trade endangered by the Russian conquest of Narva, the city of Reval was anxious to conclude an alliance with Sweden during the lifetime of Gustavus I. The old king had hesitated to embark on what he foresaw might be a dangerous policy, but after his death Eric eagerly consented. In the spring of 1561 he sent plenipotentiaries as well as troops to Reval. In the following summer the city of Reval and the Esthonian aristocracy of the surrounding country proclaimed Eric king.

Eric's action had far-reaching political consequences. It was the first step on the way to the building up of a Swedish Baltic Empire. His decision was prejudiced by the dangers to which the south coast of Finland would be exposed if Russia or Poland were to become the master of Esthonia. The policy of Duke John had already placed Finland in a dangerous position.

John had outwardly acquiesced in the curtailment of his power, but only from sheer necessity and not without much silent resentment. The dissolution of the Baltic state tempted him to intrigue for his personal benefit, and to entertain hopes of gaining possessions apart from the dominions of his royal brother. A marriage between John and a sister of Sigismund Augustus of Poland had been discussed for some time, and this plan was now enthusiastically promoted by both parties as a means of preventing Eric's attempts to extend his power. John went to Poland without his brother's consent, celebrated his wedding with Princess Catherine Jagiellonica in Vilna, 1562, and lent his brother-in-law a large sum of money, receiving some Livonian castles as surety. As yet war had not been declared between Sweden and Poland, but the rivalry between their two kings for the possession of the Baltic provinces was essentially hostile. Eric was therefore of opinion that John had concluded an alliance with the enemies of Sweden. He prevailed on the *Riksdag* to pronounce John guilty of treason and therefore liable to lose his duchy and private estates, even his life if the king by his grace would not pardon him. John held out for a time against Eric's troops, but as the expected help from Poland did not arrive, Åbo was forced to surrender in August 1563. John and his wife were taken prisoners and those servants who had remained loyal to him were executed in the cruel manner of the age. John and Catherine were brought to Gripsholm Castle where they were well treated, but John's estates and fiefs were confiscated. By crushing John, Eric had still further increased his own power, but he had at the same time accentuated his antagonism to Poland. In the autumn of 1563 Sigismund Augustus concluded an offensive alliance with Denmark directed against Sweden.

At that time war had broken out between the Danish

and Swedish kings. Frederick II had done everything in his power to hinder Eric's policy of expansion in Esthonia. Eric retaliated by bringing up old Swedish claims on Gottland. Frederick II answered by quartering the Three Crowns of Sweden in the Danish shield — as his father had done before him — in this way proclaiming the right of his dynasty to the Swedish throne. As a protest Eric began to use the Danish Three Lions in his standard. Neither would yield an inch, and all attempts at conciliation were in vain. Frederick II opened hostilities in April 1563. He made terms with Lübeck, which resented Eric's policy of interfering with the shipping of Narva (see above) in favour of Reval. Lübeck had other reasons also, for she still hoped to regain her former trade supremacy in Sweden. A third power, Poland, now ranged herself with the formidable enemies of Sweden.

So far Sweden was facing her foes unaided, but there still remained one more power immediately interested in these developments, i.e. Russia. Ivan IV regarded Poland as his most dangerous enemy and, although he did not welcome Swedish domination in the Baltic provinces, much preferred her rule to that of Poland. Eric endeavoured to make use of this similarity of aim and at least obtain the tsar's recognition of the Swedish conquests in Esthonia and Livonia. Ivan framed his reply in the insolent language which he — like an Oriental potentate — deemed proper when writing to other princes. He did not, however, show himself entirely obdurate. Eric had the sister of the king of Poland in his power, and Ivan suggested that if Catherine were surrendered to him, he could by making use of her as a hostage readily persuade Sigismund Augustus to make peace. In a lengthy and extraordinary correspondence the two abnormal and not altogether dissimilar rulers exchanged views regarding the surrender of Catherine to the tsar. Eric was most anxious

to reach an understanding with Russia, and he certainly wished John all the evil that could befall him, but he shrank from such a mean act as that of separating the princess from her husband and practically selling her to a barbarian. He proposed various substitutes, but without success. Ivan adhered to his original conditions. Torn between conflicting motives, Eric agreed in the end to the dishonourable barter. A treaty was concluded with the tsar in 1567. Princess Catherine was to be given up to Ivan, who in return agreed to recognize the Swedish acquisitions in Balticum. It is unlikely that Eric had any intention of carrying out his side of the bargain. Whatever his plans, the conditions in Sweden were rapidly changing, and it had become too late for him to act. Thanks to the treaty, however, Sweden had peace with Russia for the time being.

Denmark was the most dangerous of the allied powers. Fortunately, Sweden possessed a strong navy, created by Gustavus I and improved by his son. Two Swedish admirals, Jacob Bagge and Klas Horn, several times defeated the combined navies of Lübeck and Denmark, and from 1564 to 1566 the Swedish navy was supreme in the Baltic. Connection with the Baltic provinces was thereby safeguarded, and the troops fighting overseas could receive necessary supplies. Still more important was the naval barrier against attacks on the Swedish coasts. The central provinces of Sweden were, however, already exposed to hostile invasions from the south.

The Danish war on land was chiefly carried on by German mercenary troops, which were expensive to maintain. They mutinied if the pay ran short, and robbed and ill-treated the peaceful inhabitants. The Swedish forces also had a certain proportion of German and Scotch soldiers, but consisted mainly of native recruits. This national army had been effectively organized by Gustavus I and by his

son Eric (p. 156). Numerically, it was equal and occasionally even superior to the Danish army, for Frederick II soon found it too expensive to maintain the whole of his original strength. In the event of enemy attack, the Swedish peasants were still bound to take up arms to defend their country. They were not of great use in serious encounters, but were employed to defend barricades in the forests and to attack small enemy detachments and transports. Not even the Swedish regular army was altogether comparable in efficiency with the German mercenaries. The greatest difficulty, however, was the lack of able Swedish commanders. Frederick II had an excellent general, Daniel Rantzau. He was a master of military technique, whereas the Swedish officers were comparatively inexperienced in actual warfare, only seldom using their advantages to the full. Eric himself was too much of a coward to put his military theories into practice, but he was indefatigable in instructing his subordinate officers how to encounter particular eventualities which might be expected during a campaign. Neither by zealous attempts to anticipate events, nor by harsh treatment of such officers whom he considered deficient in their dutiful obedience, did Eric succeed in training able and enterprising military leaders.

Military operations on land, therefore, went against the Swedish arms. The warfare on both sides was often reduced to foraging in the enemy's country, attempting to exhaust him by invading his fertile provinces, plundering and burning the farms and slaughtering the cattle. In the very beginning of the war, the Danes captured the fort of Älvsborg at the mouth of Göta Älv, thereby cutting off all Swedish connection with the North Sea. A little later the Swedes repaired this serious loss by taking the fortress Varberg, and overrunning the two Norwegian provinces Jämtland and Härjedalen. No other decisive battles occur-

red, but the campaign of devastation continued. In 1567, however, Eric's mental instability developed into insanity, and for a time the central government ceased to act. This gave the Danes a chance of delivering a thrust at the very heart of Sweden. With a small but picked army, Rantzau marched through Småland to Jönköping. Finding all defensive measures neglected, he forced his way on through the wild forests of Hålaveden to the fertile plain of Östergötland. He burned the cities of Vadstena, Linköping and Söderköping,[1] and went into winter quarters in Skenninge. Rantzau sent a messenger to King Frederick saying that he was prepared to advance on Stockholm and end the war, if the king would send him 2,000 additional men. Considering the state of affairs in Sweden, his message was probably not exaggerated. Fortunately for Sweden, Frederick was unable to send reinforcements, and before long Swedish resistance began to stiffen. Short of supplies and threatened from all sides, Rantzau broke up his camp in January 1568. By daring marches he evaded the barricades which the Swedes had placed in the way of his retreat, and reached Danish territory without serious loss. After this effort both sides were fairly exhausted. The Danes managed to reconquer Varberg but not Jämtland and Härjedalen.

The outcome of this war, generally called »The Northern Seven Years War», must be regarded as favourable to Sweden, in spite of the less satisfactory results of the military operations. When Rantzau found himself unable to follow up his successes, Frederick's ambitious plans of conquest were no longer heard of. Thanks to her navy, Sweden had held her own, which goes far to prove how greatly she had advanced in power during the reign of Gustavus I.

It must also be taken into account that when the peril

---

1 Cf. »Chipping Sodbury» in Gloucestershire. *Köping* (»Chipping») means market-place. *Söder* (»Sod»), Eng. South. See *Words and places* by Isaac Taylor.

of enemy attacks was greatest, Sweden was passing through a terrible domestic crisis, caused by the mental disability of the king.

* *
*

The Vasa family was remarkably gifted, but many of its members suffered from a lack of mental balance which was liable to develop into insanity. Eric XIV was a case in point. His passionate nature carried him constantly from one extreme to another. As a young prince he indulged in wild pleasures. As king, he did not abandon such diversions, which were frequently followed by periods of melancholia, while at other times he threw himself into affairs of state with a zest and perseverance that both surprises and commands respect. He was jealous of his own prestige but did not understand how to preserve it. He treated his subjects sometimes with arrogance and uncalled-for severity, sometimes with obsequious friendliness or hilarious camaraderie. His cowardly and abnormally suspicious nature made him a difficult master. We learn from contemporary evidence that Eric did not allow his pages to wear spotless white garments, because he was afraid of their ingratiating themselves with the ladies of the court. If somebody smiled or whispered in his presence the king believed that he was being ridiculed. In certain moods he interpreted almost any harmless deed or word as culpable or disloyal.

Eric did not tolerate the counsel of others whose stability and judgment might have neutralized his own deficiencies; hence the prospects of the country were not rosy. George *(Göran)* Persson, a government clerk of low birth was the only one of his subordinates who succeeded in retaining the favour of his royal master. As an able administrator George

Persson made himself invaluable to the king and he also possessed the gift of adapting himself to Eric's capricious temper, pleasing the king in his ever changing moods. Hardly daring to express their disapproval of the king even after his fall, the Swedish people turned their hatred on this servant. They regarded him as Eric's evil genius, and blamed him for inciting the king to acts of violence and injustice in order that he might retain his own influence. This was very likely true, for George certainly acted as the king's right hand and saw that Eric's cruel and wanton decisions were carried out.

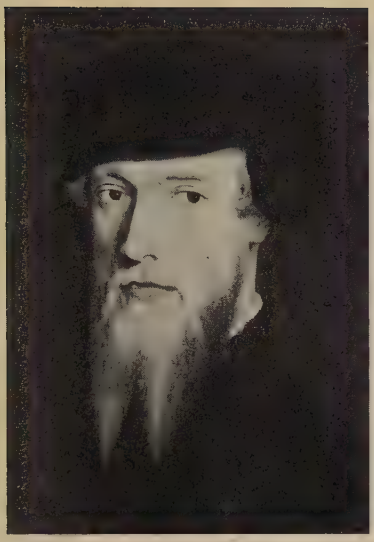
It was perhaps not surprising that Eric suspected conspiracies against his throne. The introduction of hereditary succession had never been popular with the great nobles who feared a strong monarchy. The severity with which Eric exacted their equestrian service, and the unjust and humiliating punishments which he inflicted for their real or imagined negligences, no less than the elaborate system of espionage which he employed to ascertain their words and actions, made him feared and hated by the nobility. Eric was not ignorant of these feelings, and he dreaded lest somebody should stand out as a rival to his power. He fixed his suspicions especially on two people: his stepbrother John, related to many onble families through his mother, and the young Nils Sture, son of Svante and grandson of the popular regent Sten Sture the younger (p. 103). Eric's fears regarding their intentions were heightened by the astrological studies which he pursued with great alacrity like so many others in that age.

The strain of the Danish war carried Eric's suspicions beyond all control. He attempted to explain every adversity by attributing neglect or treachery to his commanders. In this harrassed state of mind the king had Nils Sture imprisoned for high treason and brought through the streets

of Stockholm in a mock-triumphal procession (1566). Immediately afterwards Eric was terrified by the indignation that this insult called forth in the army and amongst the noble relatives of Nils Sture. He hastened to be reconciled with Nils, and sent him to the court of Lorraine to arrange for a marriage between Eric and the Princess Renée. But as soon as Nils had departed, his suspicions of the nobility again got the better of him. His secret agents were sent all over the country to collect evidence intended to prove the treacherous intentions of large sections of the nobility. The king was obviously so distracted that he no longer was responsible for his actions.

At this time Eric seems to have begun to entertain the idea of giving his subjects a queen whose low estate would outrage all aristocratic pride. Karin Månsdotter had been his mistress, and he now thought of making her his queen. She was of humble origin, but young and attractive, and in her gentleness of heart she could do more than anybody else to soothe and quiet the fevered mind of her royal lover.

In the following spring (1567) Eric summoned several noblemen to his court, and brought them as prisoners before a *Riksdag* at Uppsala. On Nils Sture's return from his diplomatic mission, he too was imprisoned and together with his friends and kinsmen accused of treason. One day, before the *Riksdag* had made full enquiry, the king rushed into Nils Sture's prison in a state of frenzy, stabbed him with a dagger and left a soldier of his guard to finish the murder. At the king's command, four other great nobles were also assassinated, amongst them Svante Sture, father of Nils. Conscience-stricken, Eric fled from Uppsala into the country, where he disguised himself in order to evade his imaginary pursuers. In the meantime George Persson prevailed on the *Riksdag* to sign the death-warrant of the murdered noblemen, and to hold out threats of similar



1.

2.

3.

4.

1. Eric XIV (King 1560—68). Contemporary portrait. 2. Johan III (King 1568—92). Detail of contemporary picture. 3. Sigismund (King of Sweden 1592—99, of Poland 1587—1632). Contemporary engraving. 4. Charles IX (Regent 1598—1604, King 1604—11). Contemporary engraving.

Feast, beerdrinking out of k å s o r (wooden utensils with ornate handles).

The weaving of tapestries.

Domestic scenes från sixteenth century Sweden, reproduced from the work of Olaus Magnus called »The Northern Peoples».

punishment to all those who had participated in their alleged treason.

After these so-called »Sture-murders» Eric suffered for several months from an attack of mental depression. He showed himself anxious to make amends to the relatives of the murdered noblemen, set his brother John at liberty, and was reconciled to him. Eric further agreed to have George Persson brought to trial. The king spent these gloomy months in the Castle of Svartsjö outside Stockholm, while a few members of the Council remained in the capital doing their best to attend to urgent affairs of state. But their authority was circumscribed by the uncertainty of the general position. Nobody knew how far their power extended, nor for how long it would last. No wonder that the resistance of the army broke down, and that Rantzau was able to make his daring push right into the heart of Sweden without encountering any material difficulties (p. 173). This grave danger may possibly have roused Eric from his apathy. In January 1568 he again took charge of the government, led an army against Rantzau, reinstated George Persson in his former position, and discontinued his attempts to be reconciled with the bereaved noble families. Nobody could now feel secure of life or estate. A well founded fear of the incalculable acts which the king might perpetrate called into existence the rebellion which Eric had so often dreaded in his raving fancy.

Shortly afterwards Eric announced his intention to marry Karin Månsdotter and acknowledge his children by her as legitimate. This was taken as another sign that Eric was in a dangerous mood. The wedding and Karin's coronation were celebrated in Stockholm early in July, 1568. At that time the king's two brothers, John and Charles, summoned a number of the great nobles to a meeting in Vadstena, where they agreed to renounce their oath of allegiance to

Eric. The rebels received support in the south of Sweden, and soon also in the central provinces. Eric had a strong garrison stationed in the capital, but the temper of the citizens grew increasingly hostile towards him. The soldiers captured George Persson and delivered him up to the dukes, who immediately ordered his execution. The South Gate of Stockholm was opened to the rebellious army which entered the city. Eric dared not defend himself in the Palace but surrendered to Duke Charles.

The king had thus fallen from his high estate into captivity. His brothers kept him a prisoner in the royal palace until he should be brought before the *Riksdag* to answer for his government. A detailed and vindictive account of Eric's misdeeds was laid before the Estates which met in Stockholm, in January 1569. As a result Eric was deposed, and John acknowledged king in his stead. It was also agreed that Eric, who had trembled for his life, should remain in imprisonment. Many considered that it would have been safer to execute Eric, but in the end it was deemed inadvisable to administer such severe punishment, though as long as he lived he was a source of anxiety to his successor. John had not the gift of making himself popular or respected, and when discontent and threats of rebellion were discovered, he feared lest Eric's friends aimed at restoring his former power. In 1574 a dangerous plot was discovered with such intent, led by Eric's former commander, Charles de Mornay, a French nobleman by birth, in conjunction with the captains of John's Scottish mercenaries, Archibald Ruthwen and Gilbert Balfour. Duke Charles was probably not ignorant of the intended *coup*. The leaders were captured, and Mornay and Balfour executed, but John's apprehensions were not thereby alleviated. He kept Eric more closely guarded than ever, and started to have him moved from one castle to another for the sake of greater safety. At first

Eric was allowed the company of his wife and children, but after the discovery of Mornay's plot this was denied him. Eventually, John received formal sanction from the more influential members of the *Riksdag* to take Eric's life, should he be threatened by further rebellions, and he gave his brother's gaoler instructions to this effect. It was therefore generally assumed that Eric's death in February 1577 was due to poisoning.

Few personalities in Swedish history have stirred popular imagination more than Eric XIV. His inherited splendour and great talents, his stormy reign with its deep shadows, his long and bitter years of imprisonment, and finally his death enveloped in mystery — all this appealed to the imagination both of poets and of common men. His memory also benefited by the growing unpopularity of John, who was regarded as his unfortunate brother's enemy and persecutor. Eric's attachment to Karin Månsdotter added a romantic glow to his tragic story. After his many amorous adventures and ambitious marriage projects, he found happiness with the simple but warm-hearted countrywoman, and like King Cophetua he wished her to share his throne. There is a certain amount of truth in this way of looking at Eric's career, and it must be recognized that he possessed considerable ability in various directions. We must nevertheless admit that Eric's mental disabilities, which were aggravated as the years went by, unfitted him for the exacting duties of a king, especially at a time when the personality of the ruler was of paramount importance.

* *
*

The second son of Gustavus I, who ascended the throne as John III, was hardly more fitted than his elder brother to govern Sweden during a period fraught with grave political

dangers and bitter religious controversy. In two respects he was favoured by good fortune when he began his reign. He was brother-in-law of the Polish king, and peace with Poland was therefore immediately restored. Secondly the king of Denmark was tired of the expensive and fruitless warfare with Sweden. A general peace conference met in Stettin, the German emperor acting as mediator, and a treaty of peace was signed between Sweden and Denmark in 1570. The conditions were not favourable to Swedish interests. Both the Danish and the Swedish king renounced all claims to each other's territory. The fort of Älvsborg was restored to Sweden, but in exchange for the two provinces of Jämtland and Härjedalen (p. 173) and a considerable sum of money in addition. The dispute regarding the Swedish emblem — Three Crowns — was deferred, but the king of Sweden should immediately give up the use of the Danish Three Lions. All territory conquered by Sweden in Esthonia and Livonia should be handed over to the German emperor (on payment by him of the war debts that Sweden had incurred in her Baltic wars), and it was understood that these possessions should afterwards become Danish. The surrender of the Baltic provinces to Germany never took place, however, for the emperor was unable to raise the necessary sum of money. Negotiations between Sweden and Denmark as to the use of the Swedish emblem Three Crowns continued, but no decision was reached. But King John was successful in collecting the ransom demanded for Älvsborg and regained this important fortress.

While peace was concluded with Denmark, Russia declared war on Sweden. Having waited in vain to see Eric's treaty obligations fulfilled, the tsar now asserted his rights to all the Baltic provinces. In 1570 he sent a large army to besiege Reval which, however, was defended so heroically that the siege had to be raised. For a number of years the

Russians periodically invaded Esthonia and Livonia. John, who had no military capacity and always suffered from lack of money, found it difficult to maintain adequate forces to defend his Baltic territory against the Russian onslaught. But the hard experience of war helped to train more efficient officers and men, and John secured an excellent commander in Pontus de la Gardie, a Frenchman who had settled in Sweden. The Russians were now involved in a war with Poland as well. Their luck turned, and they were driven back both north and south of the Gulf of Finland. The Swedes captured the fortress of Narva in 1581 which made their possession of Esthonia secure. A few years later an armistice was concluded with Russia, which for the time being gave up her claims to the Baltic territory conquered by Sweden.

The most important Swedish gain was the undisputed possession of Esthonia, which was to prove invaluable to Sweden during her future uncertain relations with Poland. During these wars Sweden had held her enemies at bay, hence her prestige in Europe had risen. The wars had severely tested the Sweden which Gustavus I had built up. Certain deficiencies had come to light, but also the means of rectifying these. John, however, was not the man to follow in his father's footsteps, and to reorganize the naval and military resources according to the needs of the times. He was the most learned and the most self-assertive of the brothers, but he was also the most forlorn when confronted with life's many practical difficulties. He was able to discuss with expert knowledge questions of belief, ritual and Church government, and his chief contribution lay in the realm of theological thought and Church government. It is doubtful whether John was more than an intellectual doctrinaire, a deep and strong faith was hardly one of his characteristics. He must, however, have felt convinced that his ability, his

learning, and his royal prestige fitted him admirably to solve the thorny problems that disturbed his age.

The Roman Catholic Church had recovered from the shock caused by the first vigorous attacks of Protestantism. Many abuses were corrected, Church discipline restored, and the papal authority strengthened. After the Council of Trent the Church of Rome stood united and ready to put up a fight against the encroachment of Protestantism. Instead of being exposed to attacks, Rome herself assumed the offensive, and with the advent of the so-called Catholic Reaction, the tide of religious opinion began to turn. Rome sought help from kings and princes, whenever possible, and found a faithful ally in Europe's most powerful monarch, Philip II of Spain. The champions of Protestantism necessarily resorted to similar tactics in order to defend their position. Again religious and political motives, subtly intertwined, directed the grim fight between the two opposing religious camps.

Protestantism, however, did not show a united front and, compared with Rome, was seriously handicapped in this respect. Not only were the Protestant countries often hostile to one another, as was the case with Denmark and Sweden, but the separate national Churches found it difficult to unite in a common confession of faith. In its essence, Protestantism stood for religious liberty and individual responsibility in spiritual things, and could not recognize any outside authority corresponding to the papal authority of Rome. But few had more than a clouded vision of the meaning of spiritual liberty. The majority were groping in the dark, endeavouring to find guidance in the written word of the Bible. But the Bible might be interpreted in more than one way, and in order to get over controversial points arising from different interpretations, theologians tried to work out some common articles of faith which

could be generally accepted and afterwards officially authorized. The difficulty consisted in finding a formula acceptable to all. Over and over again delicate points were argued and controversies arose, not seldom characterized by what is called *Odium theologicum*. Under the pressure of the Roman Catholic onslaught, Lutheran Protestantism gradually pulled itself together, uniting theoretically in the *Confession of Augsburg* and in practice in the exposition and discipline engendered by its own orthodoxy. Calvinistic Protestantism developed on other lines, often diverging sharply from those followed by the other large Protestant section.

These theological disputes often appear meaningless and sophistic to modern thought and they must have been distasteful to more enlightened people also in the sixteenth century. It is therefore not surprising to find a strong movement which endeavoured to work out a possible basis for cooperation between the Churches. Its leaders went back to a period in the history of the Christian Church when her doctrines and ritual had not yet been sharply defined. They chose the period of the Church Fathers before the dominance of Rome, before the schism between the eastern and western Church, and especially before the development of scholastic dogma.

John III was particularly attracted by these efforts to achieve unity. He had married a Roman Catholic princess and allowed his son Sigismund to be instructed in his mother's religion. John himself had not escaped being influenced by the old faith. He considered that much of the theological controversy was due to ignorance and misrepresentation, but his profound studies did not cover a certain superficiality, which failed to discern the underlying cause of opposing beliefs. In his vanity he was tempted to find a formula which might unite the contending parties. His

hopes that his son Sigismund should bear the united crowns of Poland and Sweden gave a special impetus to his conciliatory efforts. In addition, John's artistic temperament must have been attracted by the splendour and beauty of the Roman Catholic services.

Two remarkable documents still bear witness to John's theological interests, i. e. a Church Manual and a Liturgy. The Manual contained instructions regarding Church organization and practices, including education and the administration of the Sacraments. The gradual alterations that had been carried out since the Reformation had been previously formulated and brought together in a Church Manual published by Archbishop Laurentius Petri in 1571 (p. 152). In the following year the Swedish clergy were charged to observe this Protestant Manual. Laurentius Petri built on the foundation of Luther's Reformation, and his work therefore did not commend itself to the king. Under John's direction a new Manual was published and accepted in 1575. The clergy were here advised not to heed the polemic writings of other theologians but to acquaint themselves with the Church of the Fathers »from the times of the Apostles until Gregory the Great». By this study they would gain a more unbiassed Christian outlook, differing equally from that of Rome and of the reformers. The new Liturgy was largely composed by John himself and became law in 1577. »The Red book», as it was commonly called because of its reddish-brown parchment cover, contained many Roman Catholic practices. These were explained in learned notes added to the text, where John took the opportunity of still further advancing his syncretistic ideas.

In his ambition John dreamt that his Manual and especially his Liturgy should serve as a basis for a general reconciliation between the Churches. With this object in view he

first addressed the pope. Rome welcomed with alacrity an advance made by a Protestant country, and agreed to John's request that some influential Catholics should be sent to Sweden to discuss the position. The pope did not intend to make any material concessions, but entertained the hope that once the Swedish king had begun to drift away from an uncompromising form of Protestantism, he would be fairly easily persuaded and brought over to obedience to Rome. The pope entrusted the Swedish mission to a prominent Church dignitary, Antonius Possevino, who had previously been actively engaged in Catholic propaganda. He arrived in Stockholm at Christmas time 1577, accompanied by a few priests, and remained there for several months. He soon found that John was too apt a theologian to be easily talked over, and that he was too certain of the excellence of his own writings to be willing to renounce them. But the diplomatic nuncio pleaded his cause with so much eloquence that John began to hesitate, and was even prevailed upon to receive absolution from Antonius and attend the celebration of High Mass. Deeply moved, John is said to have exclaimed: *Amplector te et ecclesiam catholicam in aeternum* (I embrace thee and the Catholic Church for ever). His emotion was, however, only a passing phase. Before embracing the Roman faith, John laid down certain conditions. These included that the Swedish clergy should be exempt from celibacy, that the laity should at Holy Communion be allowed to partake of both elements, and that the worship of saints should cease — demands which Rome could not possibly concede, and the negotiations broke down. This served only to strengthen John's high opinion of his own work, and made him determined to see it accepted, at least in the Swedish Church.

The opinions of the Swedish clergy were divided. Some approved of John's ideals either from personal conviction

or from a desire to please their superiors. Others were disinclined to go quite so far, but were nevertheless ready to accept a compromise, having imbibed from their studies in Wittenberg after Luther's death more of Melanchthon's conciliatory spirit. Others again were prepared for relentless opposition, and were inspired in their attitude by the University of Rostock, which had become a stronghold of orthodox and aggressive Lutheranism. Martinus Olai, bishop of Linköping, Petrus Jonae, professor at Uppsala University, and Abraham Andreae Angermannus, rector of Stockholm, were the most conspicuous of this group of ardent Lutherans. They put up an assiduous fight against those who favoured the new Liturgy. Both sides were sadly remiss in charity and reasonableness. Within the limits of his power, John threw his whole weight against the orthodox Lutherans. Many were deprived of their livings, some were imprisoned, others like the fire-eating Abraham Andreae, were obliged to escape abroad. They regarded themselves as martyrs for their faith, however, and felt strong enough to bear greater deprivations still, thus fortifying others by their example. John's leanings towards Roman Catholicism were looked upon with serious apprehensions by the Lutherans, who took his Liturgy to be only the first step towards a complete surrender to Rome.

The general public found it hard to follow the theological subtleties of these eminent divines, but the majority were definitely against the reestablishment of the Church of Rome. Amongst the better educated, who belonged chiefly to the landed aristocracy, selfish reasons such as their acquisition of Church property helped to determine their stand against Rome. The king's youngest brother, Duke Charles, was an ardent champion of the Reformation. He too was well read in theological questions, but he stood unhesitatingly on the side of Evangelical Protestantism, with a decided

leaning towards Calvinism. Charles was now governing his own duchy and proving himself admirably fitted for his task of administrator. He refused point blank to accept John's Liturgy, and gave his protection to many clergymen whom the king had persecuted.

John's attempts to act as a reformer of the Church were on the whole futile. The country felt no need of reunion with other Christian Churches, on the contrary there was a growing demand for a definite programme in the approaching struggle. John's Manual and Liturgy presupposed the existence of well educated clergy. The majority of Swedish clergymen stood at that time on a fairly low level of education, and would therefore not have understood or practised the new rules as John desired. They were unable to discover the fine distinctions which separated John's Liturgy from Roman Catholicism, and they were equally ignorant as to the symbolic meaning of the ornate ritual. Conducted by them, the new services would have meant a return to pre-Reformation times, when the religious ceremonies were unintelligible to many priests, and still more so to the common people who looked with awe upon their mystic significance. It can therefore not be denied that those who opposed the Liturgy, in spite of their exaggerated recourse to controversy, were the spokesmen of sound and virile principles. John's attempted reforms would probably have succumbed with him, had it not been that they became part of larger movements, and therefore received more attention than they intrinsically deserved. The Liturgic struggle became the means of furthering aggressive Roman Catholic designs on Sweden, and these were intimately connected with an important political crisis in the country.

* *
*

John III had deposed his predecessor only by the aid of his brother Charles and of the great nobles, who feared the violent actions of an insane monarch. Such services had to be rewarded. Charles was given possession of his duchy, which Eric had governed on his behalf, and without the restrictions in his ducal power that Eric had imposed (p. 166). As king, John's point of view about these restrictions differed from the one he had adopted when he was forced to submit to them as duke. Charles on the other hand had his full share of ambition, and before long he and John became estranged, and almost hostile to each other. The division of the family property caused considerable ill-feeling, but the real crisis arose in respect of the Liturgic struggle.

The noblemen who had sided with John against Eric brought forward demands of their own. Gustavus I never allowed the nobility to regain their strong medieval position, nor did his son Eric. The new titles that the latter conferred upon them did not imply greater power for the counts and barons, or for the nobility in general. Eric exacted instead — sometimes with fitful harshness — the equestrian service which the nobles were obliged to render, but in the government he employed for preference men of low estate, e.g. George (*Göran*) Persson. The nobility were desirous of altering and regulating these matters, and when John ascended the throne, he was forced to sign a charter (*privilegiebrev*) in which the special rights of the nobility were enumerated and sanctioned (1569). This was the first of a series of charters which in the future were hoped for by the nobility, and often conceded when a new king ascended the throne. It was designed to regulate by law the hitherto undefined status of the nobility, specifying in which cases, and to what extent the nobility owed equestrian service to the king. It was further settled how far the tenants of the

nobility should be liable to perform posting duties and to respond to the levying of presents when the king travelled in the neighbourhood. The right of collecting the king's share of fines from their tenants, which the nobility had coveted since the middle ages, was conceded to those who possessed the rank of count or baron, or were members of the council. Noblemen only should be appointed to the important and lucrative office of *häradshövding* (p. 126), though the king reserved for himself the right to make exceptions. It was definitely admitted that the nobility should be allowed to trade with the produce of their own estates. Though these concessions were neither far-reaching nor particularly favourable, the nobility had succeeded in getting their judicial position as a separate class recognized and their rights defined. Those, however, who remembered the privileges of the great nobles before the reign of Gustavus I, had much to find fault with in John's new regulations.

In order no doubt to counteract such grievances, and to attach the great nobles to his person, John endowed the titled nobility, counts and barons, with entailed estates, their privileges during Eric's reign having been entirely nominal. Within these domains the count or the baron should be entitled to receive the ordinary revenue of the Crown from the peasantry and to exercise certain prerogative rights, but they were on the other hand under strict obligation to render equestrian service to the king. The positions of counts and barons were given almost exclusively to John's relatives amongst the nobility. He evidently hoped to win their unswerving support for himself and his descendants by his generosity to them.

These hopes were, however, not fulfilled. John was no more inclined than his brother Eric to allow the nobles to exercise a permanent influence on the government. John

often summoned the Council, which consisted of the most important nobles, but their discussions did not lead to anything. He relied in everyday affairs almost entirely on paid officials, sons of commoners or poor gentle people. He had no intention of reinstating the Council in their former influential position, much to the dismay of many able and well educated men, such as Hogenskild Bielke and Eric Sparre, who aspired after high office with its possibilities of political influence. John was invariably in financial difficulties due to extravagance at his court, expensive building operations, and prolonged wars. His attempts to relieve the shortage of money were detrimental to trade and industry; hence there was room for criticism of the king and his official advisers. The critics grew more outspoken as John's ambitious political schemes were revealed.

The nobility supported John in one respect, i.e. in his relations to Charles, Duke of Södermanland. The opposition of Charles to the Liturgy, and his protection of Lutheran clergy, had accentuated the antagonism between the two brothers to such an extent that it very nearly came to open hostilities. The members of the Council were no partisans of John's Church policy, but they were still less favourably inclined towards the somewhat autocratic duke. They therefore placed themselves unreservedly on the side of the king, and Charles had to give way. At a *Riksdag* in Vadstena (1587) he was reconciled to the king, but was obliged to forego many important rights as an independent prince. As regards religion he made no concessions, but agreed to have the difficulties settled by a general Church assembly. Having won this domestic victory, John was forced to turn his attention to the foreign political situation, which had recently undergone a great change.

Towards the end of 1586 the king of Poland, Stefan Batori, died. His widow, Catherine Jagiellonica's sister

Anne, encouraged John to let his son Sigismund become a candidate for the Polish throne. John took her advice, and sent a delegation, led by Eric Sparre, to Poland. As usual, the Polish election proceedings were tedious, many candidates presenting themselves. Thanks to the dowager queen and her party, Sigismund was in the end elected in August 1587, but not until the Swedish delegates had given a vague promise that he should present to Poland the Swedish possessions in Esthonia and Livonia. According to Polish custom the election result was disputed, for another party endeavoured to set up an Austrian Grand Duke on the throne. John hesitated under such circumstances to let his son, barely twenty-one years old, depart for his new kingdom. Once in Poland, however, Sigismund got rid of his rivals, but found it difficult to satisfy the Poles as to Esthonia. He gave contradictory promises to the Poles and to the Swedish nobles in his suite regarding the disputed territory — an unfortunate beginning boding ill for the future, when Sigismund was to inherit the Swedish throne as well.

Both Sigismund and John soon began to regret their desire to meddle with Polish affairs. Later on, Sigismund was to show that he had something of the Vasa ability. But in the very beginning of his long reign, youthful and inexperienced as he was, he felt lost in a foreign country with its strange and disorderly conditions. He had inherited his father's vacillating mind, which did not improve his position. John again, who always complained bitterly about being lonely and misunderstood, was really lonely after his son's departure. He had broken with Duke Charles, his relations to the Council were cool, and the future loomed dark before him. He wished eagerly to have Sigismund back again, and under the pretext of desiring to consult him about the operations against Russia, arranged to

meet him in the summer of 1589. The two kings arrived in Reval, escorted by large suites and strong armed forces, and John announced his intention to bring his son with him to Sweden. Sigismund had already started negotiations with the Habsburg dynasty with a view to relinquishing his Polish crown in favour of an Austrian prince. The Swedish Council, supported by the military command, energetically resisted this scheme. They were convinced that if Sigismund for no particular reason deserted his kingdom, Poland would go to war. They maintained that Sweden was unprepared for such an emergency after the long strain of war and domestic troubles, and with her finances in such a bad way. For a long time John adhered doggedly to his project, but all of a sudden he decided to abandon it and returned to Sweden, indignant and alone.

On his return, John vented his wrath on the Council, which had dared to thwart his plans. For the rest of his life, one all-absorbing idea occupied his thoughts: how could he give the nobles a lesson that they would remember. Duke Charles, who had not forgotten the part enacted by the Council in his hour of adversity, now came forward to assist John. The brothers were reconciled, and Charles strengthened John in his conviction that the Council wished to keep Sigismund away from Sweden in order to weaken the power of the Crown, and perhaps even overthrow the dynasty. John therefore concentrated his efforts on making the succession more secure, and on punishing the nobles for their suspected plottings. John addressed voluminous letters to the Council, accusing the nobles in violent terms. The nobles defended themselves with vigour, denying any malicious intentions on their part against the dynasty or against the authority of the king. John could furnish no evidence against the nobles, but treated them in an arbitrary and stern manner. He kept some of them in

prison for several years and excluded them from the Council. With his mind still poisoned by this grievance, John fell ill and died in November 1592, but before his death he forgave the nobles whom he had spent his last years in persecuting. Soon after his death nearly all that he had put his hand to vanished with him. His proudest legacy to posterity is to be found in stone. John had lavished his interest and generosity on works of architectural beauty or antiquity. Architecture, both secular and ecclesiastic, was with him almost a passion. The castles in Stockholm, Uppsala and Vadstena were to a large extent built by him, and the majority of Swedish cathedrals, especially those in Uppsala, Linköping, Skara and Västerås, and the abbeys of Varnhem and Vreta, might not have survived the neglect or destruction of these disturbed times but for John's determination to save what remained of them. His was the mind of a learned and keen antiquarian rather than that of a practical statesman, and it was his misfortune that circumstances placed him in a position for which he was not fitted.

* *
*

When John died, the Swedish crown passed to his son Sigismund. He was in Poland, and could not leave this country without first obtaining permission from his subjects, having given this undertaking when he was elected king. Some time must therefore elapse before he could arrive in Sweden. Meanwhile, the government was taken over by Duke Charles and the Council, with which he was now formally reconciled. They became jointly responsible for the destinies of Sweden for the next ten years.

The shadow of Duke Charles has more than once been discernible before he now comes on the scene as one of the principal actors. He stood in his full manhood, endowed

with his father's practical ability, experienced in administration, fearless, outspoken and hard, without a trace of the vacillating temper which characterized his elder brothers. His self-assurance was perhaps as great as theirs, but with him it sprang from his consciousness of inner strength which enabled him to master a difficult situation, and which did not find expression in vain caprice but in untiring and courageous action. Stern and readily provoked when he encountered opposition or neglect, he possessed nevertheless something of his father's kindliness and good humour, and associated often with his trusted friends, especially amongst the gentry and the commoners. He had a distinctly juristical mind, and what he considered right he felt in duty bound to pursue. He regarded his father's will as a fundamental law to his dynasty, emphasizing as it did the necessity of upholding the work of the Reformation. In the eyes of Charles, a Vasa who departed from this duty renounced his heritage. Charles was an out and out Protestant. Unemotional and logical, he preferred in many respects Calvin's theology, and his short married life with a princess of the Calvinistic House of Pfalz probably deepened this natural inclination. Some time after the death of his first wife, he married Christina of Holstein. She had a dour and practical disposition, which seems to have fitted in well with his own. Both these alliances became later on of great significance to the Swedish royal family and to the trend of the foreign policy of Sweden.

Amongst the councillors who shared with Charles the responsibility of government, were several men worthy of note, who, according to custom, belonged to the wealthy, land-owning nobility. There were representatives of the families Brahe, Leijonhufvud, Gyllenstjerna, Oxenstjerna, Stenbock, Bielke, Sparre, Banér, many of them closely allied to the house of Vasa. We have earlier mentioned two

of these who stood out as the natural leaders of their fellows, Eric Sparre and Hogenskild Bielke. Though peace had been restored between Charles and the Council, there existed between them such fundamental differences in outlook that a fresh break sooner or later was bound to come. The great nobles aimed at an aristocratic oligarchy, which seemed a practical possibility while the reigning monarch was absent. Charles on the other hand was against limiting the personal authority of the sovereign, and looked upon himself as Sigismund's representative.

The religious difficulty became acute when Sigismund ascended the throne, for now the danger of catholization was very real indeed. The Catholic prelates, who had visited Sweden in John's reign, had systematically prepared for this moment by educating Swedish youths to become zealous adherents and propagandists of the Roman Church. They frequented especially the Jesuit College at Braunsberg in the neighbourhood of Danzig, a city which had ancient connections with Sweden. As these devices began to bear fruit, Sigismund inherited his father's throne. He was a convinced Roman Catholic, and grew a still more ardent believer after his marriage to an Austrian princess, Anne of Habsburg. As king of Poland he took such a firm stand against Protestantism that he ranked as one of the crowned champions of the Catholic reaction, associating himself in this fight with the Habsburgs in Austria and in Spain. Sweden might well have reason to expect that Sigismund would use every means in his power to reinstate Roman Catholicism in the country of his ancestors.

The split in the Swedish Church was an advantage to Sigismund. No decision had been reached as to which Church Manual and Liturgy should be used. If John's innovations were accepted, Rome would take it as an outstretched finger and soon grasp the whole hand. The ab-

sence of authoritative leaders in the Church made matters worse. The archiepiscopal see was vacant, and many bishops were elderly men. Drastic measures alone would avail to save the Protestant Church and stave off the onslaught of Roman Catholicism.

Duke Charles was fully aware of the need for united action, and he succeeded in convincing the Council which did not altogether share his Protestant zeal. Shortly after king John's death, Charles convened a meeting in Uppsala (*Uppsala möte*), which was attended by himself, by more than 300 clergy from different parts of the country, by the Council, and by a small number of noblemen who were not members of this body. The assembly began its sittings on the 1st of March 1593, and continued them for three weeks. The Bible was unanimously acknowledged to be the fundamental and guiding authority of true faith. The three ancient Symbols or Creeds and the Confession of Augsburg were accepted as the articles of faith of the Swedish Church. The Manual of 1572 and the Service-book of the early Swedish reformers were to replace king John's Manual and Liturgy. Those clergymen who had accepted the latter of their own accord or under pressure, revoked their action and made humble apology. The decisions arrived at were enumerated in the important document which was signed at the end of the meeting by the duke, the Council, and the most prominent Clergy. Some minor clauses were added, denouncing »the grievous errors of the pope» and refuting other heresies, such as the doctrines of Zwingly and Calvin. Charles opposed the last paragraph with great vigour but, for the sake of unity, he gave way in the end, exclaiming in his caustic manner: »Write them all down that ye know to be of that kind, not excepting the devil in hell, for he too is my enemy.» Persons living in Sweden and belonging to another faith were forbidden to

hold services. The agreement was signed on the 20th of March 1593. The meeting also elected a new Archbishop, the majority voting for the exiled Abraham Andreae Angermannus (the irreconcilable opponent of John's Liturgy) who in this way was given a splendid restitution after his sufferings. It was further decided that the University of Uppsala should be reestablished as soon as possible, so that a national centre of learning might grow up, and the clergy especially be educated in conformity with the now accepted doctrine. After the decision regarding the confession of faith was reached, the chairman of the meeting is said to have exclaimed: »Sweden is now become one man, and we have all one Lord and one God.» These words contain in a nutshell the purport of *Uppsala Möte,* for its chief significance lay in the establishment of unity and order after the animosity and confusion of the previous decades. The following sentence occurs in the introduction to the final agreement: »By example and experience both in foreign countries and otherwise nothing is perceived to be more dangerous in any country or kingdom than discord and strife, and nothing more useful and beneficial or more conducive to the binding of hearts together than concord and unity; especially in religion». These words were to be repeated almost without alteration in the constitutional laws *(regeringsformer)* which time after time were accepted in order to regulate the relations between the king and his subjects. Thus was accentuated the close relationship between the Swedish Monarchy and the Swedish Church.

The decision of the Assembly of Uppsala was immediately made public and accepted by the whole country. Copies of the sealed and signed document were sent to the provinces, publicly proclaimed and agreed to, and signed by practically every man of influence, primarily by clergymen but also by noblemen, burgesses and even peasants. The whole people

were thus united, in a manner remarkable at that time, in agreeing — »that all this may be kept and obeyed according to the meaning assigned to each clause, honestly and sincerely, and in a true Christian spirit, steadfast and unswerving.» This unity was sorely needed. Hard times were drawing near, when the determination of the Swedish people was to be put to the severest test.[1]

Sigismund received with disfavour the news of the decision taken at Uppsala, and, before sailing to Sweden, refused to give his sanction for which the Swedish government was pressing. With some difficulty he obtained leave from the Poles to visit Sweden, and commanded the Swedish navy to convey him from Danzig to Stockholm, where he arrived towards the end of September 1593. He brought a large suite from Poland, including a papal nuncio Germanico Malaspina, a clever advocate of the cause of Rome, and thoroughly unscrupulous. He acted as Sigismund's chief adviser during the next few months, no doubt inspiring the king in his obstinate refusal to grant such safeguards to the Swedish Church as the duke and the Council demanded. The King allowed Catholic services to be held publicly in Stockholm for his suite, which raised the hopes of the few secret adherents of the old faith, but also incited the united body of Swedish Protestants to resistance.

Towards the end of January 1594 a *Riksdag* met in Uppsala to attend the funeral ceremony of the late king, and the subsequent coronation of Sigismund. Several weeks passed by in eager suspense, for the duke and the Estates demanded that Sigismund should give his royal sanction to the decision of Uppsala before his coronation, and before the Estates took the oath of allegiance. Sigismund tried to evade any such guarantee or at least to make

[1] More than one parallel may be traced between the early development of the Scottish and Swedish Churches, though the former followed the teaching of Calvin.

it conditional on certain concessions to the Catholics. He made several attempts to break through the united front of the Swedes, but in vain. More forcibly than ever came the answer that they stood as one man, ready to defend their faith. At last Duke Charles threatened that the members of the *Riksdag* would depart to their own homes without waiting for the coronation to take place. Sigismund was now forced to give way. On February 19th he gave a solemn declaration *(konungaförsäkran* or »coronation oath»), in which he undertook to adhere to the decision of *Uppsala Möte,* to uphold Swedish law, and to ratify all privileges of the four Estates. The coronation took place on the same day in Uppsala Cathedral. But on the previous day, Sigismund signed a secret protest which was sent to Rome. He declared that he had been forced to give way by the threatening attitude of his subjects, and that, once he was in possession of full authority, he would introduce Catholic services, at least in certain parts of Sweden.

Though Sigismund's secret reservation was not revealed at the time, the Swedish public soon found that they had not much to expect from his promises. The Catholic services which he had instituted in Stockholm, were continued in manifest violation of the decision of Uppsala. He had been entreated to arrange for a temporary government to be carried on in his absence, but returned to Poland in July 1594 without having made satisfactory provisions. He handed over the government to his uncle, Duke Charles, and to the Council, but did not define their respective authority. Acting on Malaspina's advice, he bestowed greatly increased powers on his deputies *(ståthållare)* in the provinces, who were to take their instructions from the king direct, thus superseding the central government presided over by Duke Charles. Hence the central authority,

which Gustavus I had laboured to set up and consolidate, was in danger of being undermined and supplanted by independent provincial authorities receiving orders from a monarch residing in a foreign country. This danger was the greater because of the personnel in question. The ablest of these deputies was Klas Fleming in Åbo, who governed Finland, an energetic and hard man and the sworn enemy of the duke. He entirely disregarded the decisions made by the government in Sweden. Contrary to his oath, Sigismund appointed as his deputy in Stockholm a Roman Catholic, Eric Brahe, which gave rise to much ill-feeling. In every way, Sigismund seemed determined to cripple the central administration, and to undermine the unity which had so far placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of his Catholic schemes.

Confronted with this danger, the duke and the Council once more renewed their cooperation. Charles insisted on the necessity for summoning the *Riksdag*. As the king had neglected to set up a government according to his oath and Swedish law, nothing remained but to create an ordered administration by measures similar to those that had established unity and discipline in the Church. The Council hesitated, but gave way before the strong personality of Charles. The Estates were called to a *Riksdag* in Söderköping, in October 1595. They decided that, during the king's absence, the duke should govern as regent in cooperation with the Council *(med råds råde)*, and that the king's commands should be addressed to this government, and not to individual crown officials acting as his deputies. All Roman Catholic priests should immediately be turned out of the country, and foreign religious practices were to cease. The provisional government should rule according to the king's oath, upholding Swedish law and the decision of Uppsala. When this had been agreed

upon, the duke called the Estates to meet him in the market-place. They took a solemn oath that they should all as one man stand together and punish everyone who did not adhere to the decision arrived at. The agreement was printed and made known all over the country, and signed in the same manner as the decision of the Assembly of Uppsala.

The duke evidently foresaw a new and more dangerous contest with the king, and prepared to meet it with concentrated power. But an unavoidable cleavage between him and the Council now became visible. The members of the Council appreciated the disaster which would follow, should Sigismund's threat to undermine the central authority become a reality. They wished, however, to find the remedy in a well organized constitution. Their policy aimed at allocating affairs of state to definite government boards or departments *(kollegium)*; at specifying the mutual rights of the duke and the Council; and, lastly, at determining the relations between the local crown officials and the central government. This was to some extent a programme for the future, foreshadowing methods of organization which should gain ground in years to come. But the duke was not willing for such a division of power. He feared — and with reason — that in such dangerous times the needful executive power would become crippled, and he suspected — with less cause — that the nobility was aiming at a restoration of the medieval type of aristocratic government. Charles was an autocrat to his finger tips and could treat with nobody on equal terms. When he perceived hesitation or opposition from the great nobles, he appealed to the gentry and the unprivileged classes, whom he could carry with him by making use of his unbridled but persuasive eloquence. In a revolutionary way he broke down recognized and lawful procedure, and

built up his power on the support of the commoners, much to the resentment of the aristocratic body by his side. Though it cannot be denied that Charles often resorted to violent and unconstitutional measures, it must also be recognized that in the impending struggle all possible resources were needed, including those which he, and he alone was able to muster.

In the end it came to a break between Charles and the Council. When Charles again summoned the *Riksdag* in the winter of 1597, all the members of the Council except one were absent. This time the Estates met in Arboga, and reaffirmed — as well as extended the scope of — the decision of the previous *Riksdag* in Söderköping. Charles now began to depose such officials as had defied him. A war between Charles and Sigismund seemed unavoidable. The members of the Council found their position in Sweden impossible and fled to Poland. They explained to the king that they had endeavoured to safeguard his rights against the aggressiveness of the duke. They also called upon Sigismund to return as soon as possible to punish his tyrannical uncle. Such indeed were Sigismund's intentions.

As the struggle became more acute, its scope grew wider, until it became part of the European conflagration between Protestants and Catholics. Duke Charles warned one of Sigismund's messengers (1597) that by complying with the wishes of the pope, the king ran the risk of losing Sweden as Philip II had lost the Netherlands. Sigismund, however, did not draw any disheartening inferences from this obvious parallel. It was true that the northern (Dutch) provinces had defended their political independence and their religious liberty, but the southern provinces (approximately present-day Belgium) were brought back under the yoke of Spain, and in spite of the disaster of the Ar-

mada, Philip still felt confident of eventually crushing Protestantism. In Germany, Roman Catholicism was making headway. In France, the Huguenot wars were drawing to a close, and the Catholic party was anticipating the final victory. Sigismund himself had more and more consolidated the supremacy of the Roman Catholic faith in Poland. He was hopeful that one bold stroke might destroy both the religious heresy and the political opposition to his authority in Sweden. On the whole conditions augured well. The Swedish noblemen who had escaped to Poland belonged to the most influential families in their country, and they assured him of considerable support against the duke. In their opinion, victory would be easy if the king came over with a small but efficient Polish army. Sigismund endeavoured to secure a second string to his bow by inviting the Danish king to join him, but in this he was unsuccessful. He also hoped to receive assistance from a Spanish expedition, in return for which he intended to hand over Älvsborg as a naval base to Spain. The full realization of Sigismund's clever schemes would have been disastrous to the whole Protestant world.

Sigismund prepared to attack Duke Charles simultaneously from two sides. Klas Fleming and, after his death, his successor in Åbo held Finnish troops in readiness for the king, and it was arranged that an expeditionary force should proceed from Finland to the Mälar provinces, and there enlist the support of the king's adherents. Sigismund himself was intending to land in the south of Sweden where his loyal subjects in the southern provinces would join him. Charles would then be forced to choose between fighting overwhelming odds or making peace on the king's terms. But this well-laid plan did not come off. The Finnish army arrived on the scene too early, and was driven off by national levies under the leadership of two

enterprising Uppsala professors. In spite of this, Sigismund's prospects were favourable when he landed in Kalmar in July 1598, and occupied this city and its strongly fortified castle. Large numbers of Swedes flocked to the banner of their lawful king. Sigismund advanced with his army towards the north and encamped at Linköping. Charles, however, did not let the grass grow under his feet. He marched from Södermanland into Östergötland and gave battle at Stångebro (September 1598). After a fierce fight, Charles and his army won the day. Sigismund's communications with the coast were now threatened and, anticipating diminished support after his reverse, he entered into negotiations with the duke, and agreed to an armistice on the following terms: The Polish troops should be sent home; the king should proceed to Stockholm and rule according to his oath and Swedish law; the Swedish *Riksdag* should judge between him and the duke; the members of the Council who had fled to Poland were to be surrendered to the duke and tried before an impartial foreign tribunal.

These terms undoubtedly implied that the danger of Roman Catholicism had been staved off, but Sigismund's position as king of Sweden was as yet intact. He spoilt his own chances, however, and instead of going to Stockholm, he sailed for Poland, after leaving a strong garrison in Kalmar in readiness for his return with reinforcements. He had again made reservations in respect of undertakings which he had been compelled to give. Sigismund's promises could no longer be relied upon. The king's supporters grew lukewarm, while Charles energetically followed up his success. He besieged Kalmar, forcing it to surrender in the spring of 1599, thus removing the immediate danger from Poland. The duke further summoned a *Riksdag*, which met in Stockholm (July 1599). As Sigismund had

broken his solemn pledges he was dethroned, but his elder son was to succeed him, provided he was sent to Sweden and educated in the Protestant faith. In the meantime Duke Charles should act as regent.

Charles hastened to take possession of all castles, cities, and provinces which were still in the hands of loyal supporters of the king. The imprisoned councillors were brought before a *Riksdag* in Linköping. This was contrary to his promise that they should be judged by an impartial tribunal consisting of foreigners; but Charles excused his action by pointing out that, since the king had already violated the conditions of the agreement, the duke was no longer bound to keep his own pledge. The Estates appointed a special court, and Charles appeared as prosecutor of the prisoners. He accused them of sowing strife between the members of the royal house, and of having enticed the king to attack Sweden with foreign troops. Some acknowledged their guilt, pleading for mercy, and were set free. But four of them, Eric Sparre, two brothers Banér, and Ture Bielke maintained that they were innocent and had been justified in their actions. They were all sentenced to death and executed in the market-place of Linköping (March 1600).

This so-called »Bloodshed of Linköping» was the closing scene of the long drama. Charles had still some minor conflicts to settle and, in the course of the next few years, Hogenskild Bielke was put to death, while several noblemen felt obliged to escape to Poland. The estates both of the exiled and of the executed nobles were confiscated. Charles had quenched all resistance in blood — a grim solution in a grim age, when neither side was willing for compromise. Charles regarded himself as the defender of the Evangelical Church and of his father's life-work. Every one who differed from him in these points, and departed from the decisions reached at the Assembly of Uppsala, the

Riksdagar of Söderköping and of Arboga, was regarded by him as a traitor and perjurer, deserving the most severe punishment. The explanation of his point of view must be sought in the grave danger of foreign interference, both political and religious, in the destinies of Sweden. It may reasonably be supposed that but for the ruthless tactics of Charles, internal disintegration and Catholic reaction would have found their way into Sweden, and that the firm and united stand of the Swedish people against these foes was due to Charles alone. The stern and unrelenting policy of Charles prepared the way for the great achievements of Gustavus Adolphus, and for his more conciliatory rule. On the other hand it may be pointed out that the constitutional ideal of a defined partnership between the king and Council, for which Eric Sparre and his friends fought to the death, did not succumb with them. This ideal was pregnant with healthy reforms, and was to exert a lasting influence on the evolution of the Swedish constitution.

THE RISE OF THE BALTIC EMPIRE.

1600—1660.

THE NATIONAL unity of Sweden was achieved on the threshold of the seventeenth century, which inherited the religious antagonism nurtured in the previous age, and was to witness the disastrous result of this fierce conflict in a European war of hitherto unexampled magnitude.

The events leading up to the dethronement of Sigismund and the punishment of his aristocratic supporters necessitated a reorganization of the government. Duke Charles, who stood head and shoulders above any other man in the kingdom, naturally retained the lead; but for some years no successor to King Sigismund was decided upon. Eric's line having been disinherited, and now also Sigismund's — for his son never came over to fulfil the necessary requirements — there remained only two claimants to the throne, i. e. John III's younger son, John, Duke of Östergötland, and Duke Charles. The former, born in 1589, was too young and inexperienced to take over the government, but according to law he had a stronger claim than his uncle. Having fought for the principles expressed in the will of Gustavus I, Charles did not wish to override his nephew's rights. But on attaining his majority, John formally renounced his

claims to the throne in favour of his uncle, who as Charles IX was subsequently acclaimed king at a *Riksdag* in Norrköping, 1604. At the same time the Estates ratified a new *Arvförening* or Pact of Succession, according to which the crown should be inherited by the male descendants of Charles in the first instance, and thereafter by John and his male heirs. If both male lines should die out, the eldest unmarried princess should become reigning queen. The need for religious unity was emphasized in the Pact of Succession, and provisions were made that any person of alien faith should be banished and his property confiscated.

Thus the new government was founded on unity but also on intolerance, for one faith only could be practised in the kingdom. The stress laid on religious uniformity was obviously prompted by the danger of Sigismund's aggressive Catholicism, a factor still to be reckoned with. Approximately one hundred Swedes belonging to the best families had either followed Sigismund to Poland, or later escaped there. They were undoubtedly scheming with friends at home for the return of the king, and a renewal of the disastrous civil war. The harsh regulations against Roman Catholics continued to be rigorously administered, but before long, expediency opened a door for Protestants other than Lutherans, as in the case when Walloon families were actually invited to settle in the country (see below, p. 228). Such concessions towards other Evangelical denominations did not, however, break the united front against Roman Catholicism. Like militant Christians in all ages the Swedes looked to the Old Testament heroes for strength and comfort. Gideon who slew the Amalekites was their inspiring example, not Saul whose leniency invoked the judgment of Heaven. No doubt the gravity of the situation demanded men of single purpose. The

very acts of ruthlessness against Roman Catholics, performed by uncompromising Protestant fighters like Cromwell, Maurice of Orange, Charles IX and his Swedish successors, may have helped to save freedom of thought and paved the way for religious tolerance.

Sigismund reigned in Poland until his death in 1632, after having succeeded in establishing the unquestioned supremacy of Rome in the land of his adoption. Until the end of his long reign he also strove to reassert his claims on his ancestral country, and therefore a more or less continuous state of war existed between Sweden and Poland for thirty years. Charles recognized that he would have to meet Sigismund either at home or abroad and decided to choose the latter, endeavouring to keep hostilities as far away from the Swedish borders as possible. In the summer of 1600 Charles landed with an army in Esthonia, received homage from the city of Reval, and overran the greater part of Livonia. The Poles soon reconquered Livonia, however, and Charles made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Riga in 1605. He suffered a severe defeat at Kirkholm, where he barely escaped being taken prisoner. Although he had not been able to enlarge Swedish territory he had prevented an attack on Sweden itself. After a time both Charles and Sigismund tired of their personal feud, and became so engrossed in Russian domestic rivalries that the Swedish-Polish hostilities were brought to a temporary standstill.

Russia was the scene of grave disturbances, the period between 1598 and 1613 being called the Time of Troubles. The inhabitants of the vast areas acquired by recent tsars had been cowed into submission by the ruthless despotism of their rulers. But in a heterogeneous state held together by such a policy, any slackening of the reins of government must necessarily be a signal for disintegration. Ivan the

Terrible (d. 1584) left two sons. The elder, Feodor, reigned until his death in 1598; the younger, Dmitri, was supposed to have been murdered by Feodor's successor, the ambitious nobleman Boris Godunov. The new tsar was confronted by a succession of rebellions. In 1604 »the first false Dmitri», as he is described in official Russian records, rose against Boris. There is some contemporary evidence to suggest that this pretender may have been the true Dmitri. Be that as it may, he received help from Poland and captured Moscow. But his rule evoked the wrath of orthodox Russians, and he was murdered in 1606. And now the real confusion began. Charles IX of Sweden gave his support to the newly elected tsar, Vassili Shuisky, while Sigismund energetically pushed the candidature of his own son Vladislav. Vassili concluded an alliance with Charles, surrendering Keksholm and the surrounding district on condition that Charles was to send 5,000 men to help him against Sigismund. The Swedish army — consisting mostly of English, Scottish and French mercenaries — arrived under the command of James De la Gardie, entering Moscow in 1610. His position soon became untenable. The mercenaries clamoured for their pay, which was none too regular, and when they in conjunction with Russian troops met the approaching Polish army, they mutinied, leaving the Poles victors of the field at Klusjino. Deserted by his foreign troops, De la Gardie, with a few hundred Swedish soldiers, cut his way to the Swedish borders, while Vladislav was proclaimed tsar in Moscow. This was a severe blow to Charles's eastern policy, and he must now do his utmost to safeguard Swedish Baltic possessions against the combination of Poland and Russia. In spite of the previous treaty, Keksholm had not been surrendered. After his return from the fruitless Russian expedition, De la Gardie besieged and captured Keksholm

in the late winter of 1610. In the following summer he took Novgorod by storm and concluded a treaty with this city whose government invited one of Charles's sons to become tsar and undertook to work for his candidature in other parts of Russia. This remarkable treaty was an expression of a Russian nationalist movement — as yet in its infancy — but clearly directed against Polish tutelage. But the death of Charles interfered with the scheme, the Swedish princes being unable to take advantage of the invitation while there was time. In 1612 the nationalist movement grew to such dimensions that the Poles were forced to leave Moscow. In 1613 Michael Romanov ascended the Muscovite throne, and under his rule the Russian dominions were again pieced together, and the rebels all over the country hunted down. De la Gardie, however, retained his conquest of Novgorod, and the Swedish arms were so successful that by the peace of Stolbova (1617) Sweden acquired not only Keksholm and district but the whole of Ingria. It was an advantageous peace, rendering Swedish defence of her eastern possessions comparatively easy, and the frontiers remained much the same for nearly a century.

During his eastern campaigns Charles IX had not neglected to keep a watchful eye on the politics of western Europe. He feared that Sigismund's close relations with the House of Habsburg would prompt Spain to espouse his cause and direct an aggressive policy against Sweden. He therefore sent John Skytte on a diplomatic mission to James I, in order to further an alliance between England, the Netherlands and France as a protection against the Habsburg menace. But the interests of these countries were too conflicting to allow his daring projects to materialize. Charles's wish to safeguard the interests of Sweden against Danish interference no doubt contributed to

wreck the scheme, James I being closely related to the Danish royal family.

Swedish relations to Denmark filled Charles's last years with grave anxiety. Christian IV, the new king of Denmark, was young and full of energy. Unfortunately, his desire for action was not accompanied by either caution or perseverance, nor did he possess the judgment or foresight which characterize the born statesman. Christian watched the domestic conflicts in Sweden with satisfaction, for they would necessarily weaken the country and make a renewal of the union with Denmark a practical possibility. When Charles IX seemed to get the better of his many difficulties, Christian came to the conclusion that it was high time for him to attack Sweden. He had plenty of opportunities to pick a quarrel. There was the old feud about the Swedish emblem »Three Crowns» which, in spite of repeated discussions since the peace of Stettin, had not been settled. Another thorny question was the right of taxing the Lapps in the remote northern highlands. They were sometimes taxed by Norway, sometimes by Sweden, and occasionally by both, for the boundary between the two countries in the desolate regions bordering on the Arctic Ocean had never been precisely defined. The right to impose taxes on these nomads was therefore closely connected with territorial claims. The tension was increased when Charles founded the city of *Göteborg* (Gothenburg) on the island of Hisingen in Göta Älv, near the old port of Lödöse. Charles encouraged Dutch merchants to visit Göteborg and gave special privileges as regards trading on the Arctic coast to this new city, the only Swedish port in the west. Other commercial disputes arose out of the Baltic wars, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century such reasons were considered sufficient to justify open hostilities. Remembering the seven years

war, the Danish Council hesitated, but Christian carried his point, and sent Charles a formal declaration of war in April 1611.

The moment seemed favourable. Not only was Sweden involved in war with Russia and with Poland, but Charles IX himself was physically a broken man. His exertions in war and in administration had undermined his naturally robust health, and on two occasions he had had a stroke. Faced with these disabilities, he concentrated his remaining energies on meeting the Danish attack. His seventeen years old son, Gustavus Adolphus, acted as his lieutenant in the formidable task of preparing a country already impoverished by long wars for a life and death struggle. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the war at first went well for the Danes, who possessed ample resources thanks to the tolls exacted in the Sound. Charles expected the main attack to be launched on Göteborg, but it was instead directed against Kalmar; hence the name of »The Kalmar war». The Danes soon captured this city, but the castle held out for several months, until it was treacherously surrendered to the enemy. This was a serious loss, for Kalmar was the stronghold of the south, and its fall left the central provinces undefended. The fall of Kalmar undoubtedly hastened the fatal illness which in October 1611 ended the remarkable life of Charles IX.

The death of Charles IX, the last and ablest of the sons of Gustavus Vasa, seemed to spell ruin for the work of the founder of his dynasty. The capture of Kalmar was followed by a Danish attack on Älvsborg fort on Göta Älv. Älvsborg was defended with great heroism but could not hold out, and the newly founded Göteborg was burnt down. Christian now planned a converging attack on Jönköping by his western and eastern armies. From this centre he intended to follow the daring example of Daniel

Rantzau, while the Danish fleet was simultaneously to bear down upon Stockholm. Christian's ambitious scheme failed, however. The navy did not accomplish its task, the land forces were not sufficiently coordinated, and by almost superhuman exertions Gustavus Adolphus instilled such vigour into the Swedish defence that the Danish armies soon were forced to retrace their steps in an exhausted condition. Christian IV had greatly underestimated Sweden's power of resistance, and the voices of warning which had been heard in his own country before the outbreak of war, were now raised with renewed vigour. James I of England, Christian's brother-in-law, offered his mediation between the two Scandinavian kings. His offer was accepted, and in January 1613 peace was concluded in Knäred — on the borders between Halland and Småland — on the following terms: The Swedish king renounced all claims on territory and revenue in the disputed Arctic regions; he should further pay one million *riksdaler*[1] within six years to release Älvsborg fort and the surrounding district from Danish occupation. In other respects pre-war boundaries were immediately restored. As against these conditions Swedish ships were to be exempt from toll in the Sound; and, although the Danish king should be allowed to carry the Three Crowns in his standard, he must definitely acknowledge that this did not entitle him to any claims on Sweden. The terms were hard, heavy Swedish sacrifices being necessary to raise the large sum demanded for Älvsborg, but they were not altogether unfavourable. The treaty endorsed what had become apparent during the war, that Denmark, in spite of her initial successes, was unable to carry through her policy of aggres-

[1] *Riksdaler* was the large silver coin in use at that time. It corresponded to the German *Thaler* (cf. »dollar»), and its weight in fine silver was just over twenty-five grammes.

sion. Her hopes of reestablishing the medieval union must be futile, and the Swedish king could with comparative ease accept the humiliating clause regarding the Swedish emblem. The exemption from toll in the Sound was a real advantage to Sweden, and on the whole the Knäred treaty recognized that Sweden had become the political and military equal of Denmark. Future developments were to disclose the fact that the relative strength of the two countries was actually reversed. During the reign of Gustavus Adolphus the great work of Swedish emancipation begun by Gustavus Vasa and continued by Charles IX was to be brought to a successful conclusion.

* *
*

Gustavus Adolphus, elder son of Charles IX and his wife, Christina of Holstein, was born on the 9th of December 1594 in the Palace of Stockholm, where his father then resided as regent. Like most of the Vasa princes Gustavus received an excellent education. His father personally supervised his training and appointed as his tutor the young and highly gifted John Skytte. Skytte's subsequent distinguished career both as a statesman and as a patron of the arts and sciences more than justified this selection. Gustavus Adolphus inherited to a marked degree the talent and ability of the Vasa family, as well as some of their failings. The responsibilities and difficulties which fell to his lot in early youth, steadied his character, and enabled him in large measure to overcome his naturally fiery temper and high animal spirits. In later life he combined imagination with practical common sense and indomitable energy. He inherited the courage and strength of mind of his father and grandfather, but these characteristics were modified by a more

versatile and balanced temperament and by greater loveableness. Few understood better than Gustavus Adolphus how to win friends and to keep them. When his aged father, brooding bitterly over the disasters which threatened to ruin his life-work, glanced at his young son, it is said that his face lit up as he exclaimed »*Ille faciet*» (»he will accomplish»). No wonder that the promise of youth raised high hopes for the future, and this prophecy was ultimately fulfilled.

Gustavus Adolphus was spared the family feuds which had so frequently disturbed the peace of the country in his father's time. When he ascended the throne there were apart from himself only two male descendants of the Vasa dynasty living in Sweden, i. e. his younger brother Charles Philip, duke of Södermanland, and his cousin John, duke of Östergötland. Both died young without heirs, their fiefs reverting to the Crown. His stepsister, Catherine, was married to John Casimir of Zweybrücken, a German prince of the House Wittelsbach, to which Catherine's mother had also belonged. During the religious disturbances in Germany John Casimir sought refuge in Sweden for himself and his family, and received the castle of Stegeborg as fief. His financial ability was of great assistance in the government, and Catherine's womanly tact made her a centre in the life of the court, especially after the death of the king. Gustavus Adolphus married in 1620 Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, a fair but eccentric princess, whose erratic nature scarcely fitted her for queenly duties. She was devoted to her husband, but it was mainly due to his considerate forbearance that the union was not an unhappy one. The queen was obviously not the right person to bring up their only surviving child, Christina, whose education was chiefly left in the hands of her aunt, Catherine of Zweybrücken.

Gustavus Adolphus was more successful than his predecessors in enlisting the friendly cooperation of the nobility. Since the *Riksdag* of Västerås in 1527 (p. 133) many noble families had increased their landed property very considerably, and by this means their general wealth. This enabled them to acquire more culture, and especially was the younger generation given far greater educational advantages than their fathers and grandfathers. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, it became the rule for young Swedish noblemen to finish their education abroad. They studied theology or law at some famous German university, and later on, when the long wars wrought havoc with German learning, they visited the Netherlands, especially the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. As Swedish connections with western Europe became closer, and France rose to political and intellectual dominance, the young nobles found their way to the university of Paris and to the brilliant court of Louis XIV. Their training abroad was not confined merely to peaceful studies and travelling, but frequently included service in the field under some great general, e. g. Maurice of Orange. The Swedish noblemen thus became personally acquainted with cultured foreigners and acquired the more refined manners of the continental aristocracy. They returned home imbued with a desire to introduce these higher standards of culture into their native country.

Gustavus Adolphus was therefore surrounded by a considerable number of highly educated young noblemen, well fitted to take their share in public work. The dearth of efficient native administrators, of which Gustavus Vasa used to complain so bitterly, existed no longer. Axel Oxenstjerna was the foremost of the many notable Swedes who served under Gustavus Adolphus, and his name is inseparably associated with that of his great master. He belonged

to a wealthy family of Upland landowners whose name was derived from their coat of arms, picturing an ox's head. He was eleven years older than the king, and had for several years studied at the universities of Wittenberg, Jena and Rostock. His theological learning was so profound that a French diplomatist referred to him as »an eminent Divine without a gown». His interest in economic problems was no less marked, and he was keenly alive to the benefit of administrative reorganization by which various continental governments endeavoured to improve their efficiency. Immediately after ascending the throne, Gustavus Adolphus invited Oxenstjerna to become his chancellor (*Rikskansler*, see p. 252) and right hand man in the government. His cool judgment and more mature experience acted as a wholesome restraint on the impulsive genius of the king. Every Swedish child learns an anecdote which, if not actually true, yet throws light on the relations between these two men: impatient with Oxenstjerna's deliberate methods, the king is said to have exclaimed on one occasion: »If my ardour did not thaw your chilliness you would long ago have been frozen to ice», to which Oxenstjerna replied: »If my coldness had not moderated your heat, your Majesty would long ago have been consumed by fire.»[1] For over twenty years the king and his chancellor safely piloted the Swedish ship of state through turbulent waters. On the premature death of Gustavus Adolphus, his trusted servant and friend amply justified the high confidence placed in him by his master, carrying on his work with loyalty and devotion.

[1] Oxenstjerna is said to have addressed the following well-known words to his son on his departure as one of the Swedish representatives to the peace congress of Westphalia: *an nescis, mi fili, quantilla prudentia mundus regatur.* (Do you not know, my son, with what little wisdom the world is governed?) Although there is no evidence that this sentence originated with Oxenstjerna (cf. John Selden, Table-Talk, London ed. 1689, p. 86, and Cambridge ed. 1831, p. 231), the observation no doubt fully corresponds with the experience of the old chancellor.

Axel Oxenstjerna's younger brother, Gabriel Gustavsson Oxenstjerna, and his cousin Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstjerna also held important positions under the Crown. Gabriel Gustavsson acted as his brother's deputy at home, when the chancellor's duties necessitated his absence abroad. Several older men who had held high office in the reign of Charles IX, continued to take a prominent part in the government. Amongst these may be mentioned John Skytte, the king's former tutor; James De la Gardie, under whom Gustavus had gained military experience in the Russian wars; Ewart and Gustavus Horn, who came from a well-known family of soldiers in Finland. Later on Gustavus Horn acted as the king's chief lieutenant in his German campaign. Of the younger men may be mentioned the two brothers Peter and Nils Brahe, the former a capable administrator, the latter a promising officer, who was killed in action at an early age. Peter and John Banér were another pair of gifted brothers. Gustavus Adolphus considered John Banér the most brilliant young officer on his staff, an estimate justified by future events. The families Sparre, Bonde, Bielke also supplied their country with able soldiers and Crown officials. Many of these young noblemen were sons or near kinsmen of prominent supporters of Sigismund, the former rival of Charles IX in the struggle for the Swedish crown. The magnetic personality of the young king himself was largely responsible for this change of allegiance. He had moreover the gift of making the most effective use of the human material at his disposal, and did not confine his choice of servants to members of the old aristocracy. Many commoners rose to influential positions and even to high office. Such were John Skytte; the skilful diplomatist and accomplished classical scholar Adler Salvius; and the poet and versatile writer George Stiernhielm. In all depart-

ments of the national life there were healthy signs of growth and development following on the critical tension of the previous decades. Gustavus Adolphus took full advantage of this vitality, gradually leading the nation to a prosperity and political influence undreamed of at the stormy commencement of his reign.

* *
*

Swedish relations to foreign powers at the beginning of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus have been briefly outlined above. The domestic situation also deserves some attention.

Gustavus Adolphus inherited his father's throne by the Pact of Succession of 1604. He was not yet seventeen years old, and therefore still a minor. Both his youth and the events leading up to his father's ascendancy were against his chances of retaining the crown without opposition. John, Duke of Östergötland, had waived his claims in favour of the aged Charles IX, but it was conceivable that he might go back on his decision now that his young cousin was to succeed to the throne. There was further the problem of the dissatisfied aristocracy, whose most outspoken representatives had been silenced by the sword of Duke Charles. Many noblemen were strongly opposed to his autocratic rule and might reassert their claims to a larger share in the government.

Some information regarding these problems may be gleaned from the decisions arrived at by the Estates in Nyköping, December 1611, and from such fragments of the preliminary discussions as have been preserved. Duke John adhered to his renunciation of the crown, and Gustavus Adolphus was recognized as reigning king in spite of his youth. He made a solemn declaration,[1] which had prob-

[1] This so-called *konungaförsäkran* resembled a »coronation oath», though Gustavus Adolphus was not crowned until 1617.

ably been drawn up in conjunction with the nobility. It was intended both to prevent a repetition of the autocratic methods resorted to by Charles IX and to establish better, and properly defined relations between the king and the Council. Gustavus Adolphus undertook to govern in consultation with the *Riksråd* (Council), and more particularly not to introduce new laws or alter existing laws, not to impose new taxes, not to declare war or conclude peace, nor make alliances, without previously consulting the Council and receiving its sanction. In most cases the approval of the Estates was also necessary. The king promised, however, not to burden his subjects with frequent summons to *Riksdag* but call them together only with the consent of the Council. Rules were further laid down for the appointment of Crown officials, for the administration of justice, and for the safety of the established Church. An analysis of this document shows close correspondence between its various clauses and the demands brought forward by Eric Sparre and his colleagues in the last decade of the sixteenth century. These influential nobles had addressed themselves to Duke Charles, then acting as temporary regent. His position was naturally far less secure than that of his son, who succeeded by right of succession to the throne. Nevertheless, Gustavus Adolphus found his executive power curtailed by these regulations which implied a division of authority as well as a definite criticism of his father's government. The new machinery was still imperfect and might easily have broken down, but Gustavus Adolphus prevented the government wheels from clogging by inspiring the whole nation to work together for the common good.

This cooperation was not attained without concessions on the part of the king, but the result was well worth the sacrifice. It was imperative that a solution should

be found for the problems of government which had baffled Swedish statesmen since the reign of Gustavus Vasa. Even then — in spite of more primitive conditions — it had been almost impossible for one man to keep in touch with all the different aspects of administration. Since that time the machinery of government had become far more complex. As intercourse with continental countries increased, foreign affairs absorbed more money and more attention. The army and navy required to be kept up to full strength and to be supplied with up-to-date equipment. Business undertakings needed support and expert advice, while the number of appeals to the king's justice against the verdicts of provincial courts was steadily increasing, and many problems connected with the Swedish Church came up for decision. These manifold government activities obviously demanded more highly trained officials than the old type of bailiff which had survived since the reign of Gustavus I. A central executive which might relieve the king from an otherwise superhuman task was another imperative necessity. Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna worked indefatigably to create an organization which would meet the country's need. Their regulations were ultimately confirmed by the *Riksdag* under the name of *1634 Års Regeringsform* or the »Constitution of 1634». The underlying principle of this constitution was the setting up of a central office or *collegium* for each one of the chief administrative departments: e. g. justice, finance, military and naval defence, the king's correspondence and foreign affairs. Each department was put in charge of a high official, a so-called *Riksämbetsman*, with a seat in the Council, i. e. *Riksråd*. Instead of a Council of noblemen, convened by the king for occasional meetings, the *Riksråd* now became a permanent Cabinet, resident in Stockholm during the greater part of the year, and

taking part in deciding important matters of state. The local administration was also reorganized, several small districts in charge of bailiffs being brought together under the administration of a *Landshövding*, a more influential Crown official with fixed authority. His province or *län*[1] corresponded frequently to the old *landskap*, and he resided generally in the castle of the most important city of the province.

When this organization was first introduced, the nobility had practically a monopoly of the most important administrative posts, very few commoners possessing as yet the necessary qualifications. This necessitated certain modifications in the former regulations as regards the status of the nobility. Two documents are particularly enlightening in respect of these altered conditions: the Charter of 1617, and the »Statutes of the House of the Nobility» *(Riddarhusordningen)* of 1626.

By the Charter of 1617, issued by Gustavus Adolphus at his coronation, the former privileges of the nobility were sanctioned. New rights were further conceded, e. g. all important Crown offices should be held by noblemen, and no commoners should be employed in the central administration or as judges or diplomats. Members of the nobility thus took upon themselves, both as a duty and as a right, to enlist in the civil service of the country. The thoughts embodied in the Charter of 1617 were more clearly defined in the »Statutes of the Nobility» of 1626, partly framed after German models, with which Axel Oxenstjerna had made himself acquainted. These statutes were intended to define which families actually belonged to the nobility and to introduce ordered procedure in the deliberations of this Estate. *Riddarhuset*, »The Palace of the Nobility»,

[1] *Län* was used in the middle ages as Swedish for fief but was now revived in a different sense and will be translated by the term »province», seeing that it often corresponded to the old province or *landskap*.

was to be erected in Stockholm to serve as a centre of the social and political activities of the aristocracy. Only such families were considered noble, whose names were duly inscribed on the rolls of the Palace on production of a patent of nobility, and only their members were entitled to share in the privileges and duties of the order. The wealthy landowning nobility was divided into two groups or classes, (1) the titled nobility consisting of counts and barons, and (2) present members of the Council and all descendants of former members. A third class introduced in the Palace of the Nobility comprised the gentry. The king appointed a president or *Lantmarskalk* to preside over the meetings of the nobility. The three classes held their discussions apart, and in the event of their reaching different decisions, two classes could outvote the third. Additional clauses sanctioned the use of the Palace for large private functions such as weddings and funerals, and they also advocated the establishment of an academy where sons of noblemen might be educated in booklearning and chivalrous manners.

By the Charter of 1617 and the Statutes of 1626 the nobility undertook a definite obligation in the government of the country. It must, however, be emphasized that the Swedish nobility was not an exclusive caste, but was constantly being recruited by young commoners whom the king had rewarded with a coat of arms for conspicuous ability as soldiers or administrators. They were introduced at the Palace of the Nobility and shared the privileges and duties of the older aristocracy, sometimes rising to the highest dignities. The nobility might therefore reasonably claim the right to hold the most influential offices under the Crown. As time went on the number of commoners thus transferred to the privileged Estate increased considerably, and there arose a distinct cleavage between the old land-

The Castle of Kalmar, built as a border defence against Denmark about 1200, rebuilt in the sixteenth century.

Tre Kronor (the »Three Crowns»), the old castle of Stockholm, situated on the same site as the present Royal Castle. It was erected in the thirteenth century to defend the entrance to Lake Mälar, was extended on several occasions and burnt down in 1697. This engraving is reproduced from the large illustrated work »Suecia antiqua et hodierna», edited by Eric Dahlberg, artist and field-marshal, and published in 1716.

Kalmar and Stockholm, the most important Swedish castles during the middle ages and the Vasa age.

Gustavus Adolphus (King 1611—32).

Engraving by Delff from a portrait by Miereveld.

owning families which performed equestrian service, and the new aristocracy which had risen from the ranks on the ladder of public service. The former remained dominant for some time to come.

The desire to possess landed property was closely linked up with the still primitive financial conditions prevailing in Sweden. The sources of revenue of the Crown were chiefly the produce of Crown domains; the regular taxes paid by peasants and other proprietors of land not exempt from such duties; on particular occasions such as war, of extraordinary taxes specially sanctioned by the Estates, and lastly, of the income from duties and tolls. The revenue paid in ready money was therefore limited and was rapidly used up for the needs of warfare or diplomacy. Under such circumstances the king often felt compelled to reward services rendered to the state by giving away Crown property or bestowing the right of collecting taxes due to the Crown in a particular district to private noblemen. In this way the new aristocracy began to acquire land. Those also who possessed capital preferred to invest it in landed property, which not only gave the greatest security but enhanced the social prestige of the owner. The latter circumstance should be borne in mind with reference to future domestic policy during the reign of Charles XI.

It must not be inferred, however, that Gustavus Adolphus wished to favour the nobility and the gentry at the expense of the unprivileged classes. He was awake to many other needs of the country besides an improved administration. Church policy no longer demanded much interference on the part of the government, but one aspect of the activities of the bishops and clergy received the particular attention of Gustavus Adolphus. It was essential to promote higher education so that Swedish youths might be trained both for the service of the Church and of the State.

A number of bishops established so-called *Gymnasiums* on the foundations of the old Cathedral Schools. The scholars were there instructed chiefly in classics, philosophy and theology. The University of Uppsala, which still laboured under grave difficulties, was now put on a sound financial basis. Gustavus Adolphus gave as an endowment to the University practically all the landed property belonging to the House of Vasa. This princely gift has ever since been the chief source of income of the University. It was now possible to attract prominent native and foreign teachers, and before long Uppsala developed into an important centre of learning. It would no doubt have pleased the old reformer, Olaus Petri, could he have foreseen that so much of the property that Gustavus Vasa had appropriated from the Church, was destined to advance higher education in Sweden (p. 153). It is hardly necessary to point out that unorthodox views were no more tolerated at the University than were individuals of an alien faith. Those who indulged in Catholic propaganda were severely punished, and sometimes even condemned to death.

This harsh treatment of Roman Catholics is explained by their frequent attempts not only to advocate their own religious beliefs but to scheme against Gustavus Adolphus in favour of Sigismund. One well-known case may be recalled. The most prominent Uppsala professors in the early reign of Gustavus Adolphus were John Messenius and John Rudbeckius. Both were scholarly men, Messenius being the more intellectually gifted of the two, but somewhat deficient in reliability, while Rudbeckius was a thorough autocrat. As has not seldom been the case in the world of learning, each endeavoured to win popularity with the students. The encounters which took place between their followers were so violent that Gustavus Adolphus found it expedient to remove the learned antagonists from Uppsala.

Rudbeckius acted first as chaplain to the king and was later promoted to the bishopric of Västerås, where he, according to Axel Oxenstjerna, displayed »the train of St. Peter's robes», i. e. adopted an overbearing popish attitude. Messenius was given an appointment in a government office, where his juristic and historic knowledge and his fluency as a writer ought to have secured him promotion in the civil service. But Roman Catholic leanings, fostered during his student days in Braunsberg, led him into trouble. He was accused of being in secret communication with Sigismund and condemned to death, but this sentence was changed to one of imprisonment for life. He was sent to a distant Finnish fortress, where he was given the opportunity of pursuing his historic researches. The result was one of the most important early contributions to Swedish history, *Scondia illustrata.*

The heavy expenses of war and enlarged political responsibility could not be met unless the natural resources of Sweden were adequately utilized. Gustavus Adolphus therefore set himself to organize the economic life of the nation, so that production and distribution should go hand in hand. Partly during his reign and partly towards the end of the century an elaborate machinery was evolved on the following lines. The cities were to be the only centres of commerce and industry. The sea-ports were to have the monopoly of foreign trade, while the inland market-towns should cater for the local exchange of commodities. One group of cities were to cooperate with the other but must not encroach on the particular business of the other. Within the cities themselves there was further specialization, craftsmen and manufacturers being subject to guild regulations, and merchants to strict limitations in respect of buying and selling specific kinds of goods. In order to make the system work uniformly in the whole country, the govern-

ment founded and issued charters to many new towns, but their efforts can hardly be regarded as having been successful. The new cities, the growth of which was thus artificially stimulated, did not really prosper, and only the resurrected city of *Göteborg* (Gothenburg) became prominent, owing to its favourable situation, with easy access to England and the Netherlands.

On the other hand the economic policy of the government proved distinctly successful in respect of the mining industries. Sweden's wealth of mineral had long been known. Gustavus I had endeavoured to utilize these natural resources, but not until now were they effectively developed. The Dutch were the chief traders and bankers in Northern Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and they advanced the necessary capital for the ransom of Älvsborg. These business transactions induced Louis De Geer to take a keen interest in the Swedish mining industry. He belonged to a Protestant Walloon family from Liège but had for religious reasons emigrated to Amsterdam. He was well acquainted with the iron- and brass-industries which had long flourished in the neighbourhood of his native city. The endeavours of the Swedish government to build up similar industries in Sweden were therefore welcomed by De Geer, who acquired — first on lease and later on purchase — large mining areas with access to water-power and fuel. He established new iron-works, reorganized old ones, and imported skilled workmen by persuading a large number of his Walloon countrymen to settle in Sweden. Under his able management these concerns were highly prosperous, especially the iron-works at Finspong and Leufsta and the brass-foundry in Norrköping. The business house established by De Geer with central offices in Norrköping and Amsterdam was an important factor in Swedish economic life. His example

encouraged Swedes to similar industrial enterprise, and the Swedish steel-industry may be said to have made its first great forward stride at this time. The Walloon immigration brought to Sweden hundreds of families speaking a foreign language and belonging to the Calvinistic faith. This was regarded with some apprehension, but the qualms of Lutheran orthodoxy had to give way before the economic advantage of the country, especially as there was no need to fear any propaganda from the Walloons. They were allowed to practice their own religion — a concession which had probably not many parallels in this intolerant age. In time the Walloons mingled with the surrounding native population, but to this day peculiar characteristics of Walloon origin may be discovered both in the language and the features of the inhabitants of the districts where they once settled. Many well-known Swedish families trace their origin to these immigrants.

Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna were anxious to develop overseas trade and gave commercial privileges to large companies organized after English and Dutch models. But Swedish trade with America and the Far East never developed as the instigators had hoped. Swedish attempts to acquire colonies in order to facilitate cheaper import of desirable colonial products met with no greater success. In 1638, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, a colony was actually founded on the shores of Delaware, but »New Sweden», as it was called, was captured by the Dutch in 1655 and incorporated in what was then the »New Netherlands». At the present day the once Swedish colony forms part of the North American states of Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.[1]

In spite of disappointments and setbacks, it was obvious that a spirit of vigorous enterprise had permeated the Swe-

[1] Cf. Am. Johnson, The Swedish settlements on the Delaware. New York 1911.

dish community. Special efforts were made to improve the efficiency of the army. Guns and other material and equipment were manufactured in such quantities that the needs of the country were supplied, and a surplus left over for export. The shipyards were busy building new ships for the navy and the merchant service. Though the results of the economic policy did not always correspond to the high hopes of the government, they may be regarded as fairly satisfactory, particularly as they enabled Sweden to carry the heavy burdens imposed on her from outside.

The fact that the government took over a larger share of adminstrative duties than had previously been the case did not make the existing local self-governing bodies superfluous. At the *Thing* of the *landskap* (province) and of the *härad* or *hundare* (hundred) where the *lagman* and the *häradshövding* presided respectively, local matters besides those of a purely legal character, came up for discussion and were decided on the spot. In a smaller way the vestry meetings *(sockenstämma)* of the parish, presided over by the rector, took an active part in the life of the community and were especially responsible for the good and orderly behaviour of the parishioners. In the cities the burgesses exercised self-government on a broad basis, partly by their elected representatives, the Burgomaster *(Borgmästare)* and Aldermen *(Råd)*, partly as a general assembly or corporation vested with final authority. These local bodies were firmly rooted in old tradition, and constituted therefore a strong foundation for the national assembly or *Riksdag* which was at that time more definitely organized both as regards representation and procedure.

We have followed the gradual evolution of the Swedish *Riksdag* since its beginning in the days of Engelbrekt (p. 83). It had mostly been summoned as an emergency measure in times of stress or grave crisis and, although

frequently called together during the sixteenth century, it still retained its irregular character and often varied in its constitution. The Council or *Riksråd* was its nucleus. Additional members were regarded practically as adjuncts to the Council, their presence being required in order to give greater authority to the deliberations and decisions. There were times when only the great nobles and the bishops were summoned, while, on particularly grave occasions all such persons whose opinions carried real weight were asked to attend. But in either case it was considered necessary to publish all important decisions in the provinces and to receive the sanction of the whole community. That this practice was not unusual in the last decade of the sixteenth century has previously been pointed out. Though the *Riksdag* was a factor to be reckoned with in the life of the country, its status was still undefined, and Charles IX had been criticized with some reason for carrying his wishes in an almost revolutionary fashion. It was therefore not surprising that the aristocracy, fearing a repetition of the stormy meetings of Charles IX, inserted a clause in the oath which Gustavus Adolphus took on ascending the throne that he should not burden the country with frequent summons to *Riksdag*. Circumstances, however, made it necessary for Gustavus Adolphus to adopt the opposite course, and the authority of the *Riksdag* was during his reign consolidated instead of being passed over.

In the disturbed conditions which prevailed in northern Europe, Gustavus Adolphus desired to enlist the wholehearted support of his people. He made it a recognized custom to summon the Estates in order to give them an account of the political situation. Taking them into his confidence, he outlined briefly the foreign policy he intended to pursue, asking them to approve of his plans and to raise the extra taxes and military forces that would be

needed to carry on the wars. The king discussed also domestic affairs with the members of the *Riksdag* and was ready to listen and, as far as possible, remedy any grievances that were brought to his notice. As the matters under discussion often called for immediate settlement and contained information of a delicate or even secret nature, the former cumbersome method of referring the decisions of the *Riksdag* to public sanction in the provinces, would no longer work. Gustavus Adolphus saw the need of an assembly invested with sufficient authority to make decisions and afterwards enforce them in the face of opposition. The most responsible members of the community ought therefore to be called to the *Riksdag*, and the decisions made by these representatives in consultation with the king should be obeyed by all and sundry.

Swedish society may at this period be divided into the following distinct orders or Estates: the aristocracy, comprising the large land-owners, the higher civil servants and the gentry; the clergy; the burgesses, both merchants and craftsmen; and the peasantry, to which belonged the large majority of small farmers. It therefore followed that representatives of these four orders were invited to attend the *Riksdag*. In several other European countries we find assemblies corresponding in many ways to the Swedish *Riksdag*, but the latter was unique in one particular, the peasant class having a voice in the management of affairs of state. The peasants, who had retained their status as free landowners and their right to take part in public work, could not be excluded from the *Riksdag*. On many occasions, however, they attempted to evade their responsibilities, refraining from voting and from taking part in discussions concerning foreign politics. The Council's position in the Riksdag was changed and its members no longer took part in the proceedings as a separate and domin-

ating class. They acted as confidential spokesmen of the king, bringing forward and explaining his propositions. As the Council had ceased to exist as a class of its own, there remained the representatives of the four distinct orders of the community. Their collective name was *Riksens Ständer* or »The Estates of the Realm», and their meetings were called *Riksdag* or »Day of the Realm». Each estate sat and voted separately, though the discussions of the nobility generally gave the lead to the others. The mode of procedure adopted by the House of Nobility, *Riddarhuset,* was closely followed by the Estates as a whole. In this way the stormy and irregular meetings of the older *Riksdag* were replaced by orderly discussions, and the extent of its authority was gradually defined by custom. The king's propositions regarding foreign policy were at first the chief matters for discussion, but out of these arose questions of extra taxation and of the levying of soldiers. Gustavus Adolphus exacted unquestioned obedience to the decisions of the Estates from all subjects, whether they were present at or absent from the proceedings. The most important right of the Estates was that of levying taxes, though at that time the prerogative almost appeared as a duty to accede to the king's behests rather than to guard any specific interests of the community. Thus, from a humble beginning, the *Riksdag* was by degrees evolving into the potent factor in Swedish constitutional life that it was one day to become.

It must, however, be pointed out that the new-born cooperation between the Swedish king and his people was not entirely unhampered by friction, nor did it create general content in the country. The peasants no less than the more well-to-do complained bitterly over the heavy taxes and over the officials who were to collect them. The levying of soldiers was frequently resented in their native

villages, and occasionally new recruits deserted by the dozen. A new tax, the miller's toll, consisting of a certain percentage of all grain brought to be ground, was much disliked and gave rise to so much underhandedness that it had to be changed into a fixed sum of money. Again, when a small tax was put on all commodities brought from the country to the city market, it was vigorously opposed both by the peasants and by the purchasing town community, leading to riots in many places. These local troubles were, however, fairly easily overcome by a combination of firmness and good nature. There was no question of serious rebellion, and the danger of active support in favour of Sigismund, which was very real at the beginning of the century, grew smaller every year. The successful foreign policy pursued by Gustavus Adolphus was the most important factor in counteracting such tendencies.

* * *

The Treaties of Knäred and Stolbova introduced peaceful relations between Sweden and her nearest neighbours, Denmark and Russia. The rulers of Russia were for a long time to come so fully occupied in consolidating their power at home, that they were unable to continue the aggressive policy of Ivan IV. The relations with Denmark were less reassuring, for although the actual questions under dispute had been settled by the Treaty of Knäred, the mistrust between the two governments still continued. In spite of extreme shortage of money, Gustavus Adolphus succeeded in raising the sum required to redeem Älvsborg Fort. This removed a serious obstacle to peace, for Sweden could not have acquiesced in being cut off from the sea in the west, without making a desperate effort to regain her territory on Göta Älv. Minor disputes arose from the ungenerous way in which Christian IV instructed his cus-

toms officers tc carry out the letter of the treaty in respect of the exemption from toll of Swedish ships in the Sound. Christian and his officials treated the Swedes with a haughty insolence, inherited from former days, but no longer justified by the actual political situation. The Danish Council, however, did its best to smooth out the difficulties and was against further provocative measures against Sweden. Christian himself gradually turned his attention away from Sweden towards Germany, where the political situation was daily growing more disturbing. Gustavus Adolphus also had reason to watch with apprehension the storm cloud on the German horizon.

The Catholic reaction was at this time concentrating all available resources in order to crush Protestantism in Germany. The danger to Evangelical liberty anticipated by Charles IX — perhaps somewhat prematurely — had now become very real indeed. The Thirty Years' War had a small beginning: the inhabitants of Bohemia rose against the despotism of the Habsburgs, and especially the bigoted Emperor Ferdinand II, choosing for their king Frederick, the Elector Palatine (1618—1619). Ferdinand, with the aid of Maximilian of Bavaria, put an end to Frederick's kingship and overran with his troops the Electorate of Pfalz which, together with the title, was handed over to Maximilian. Having been brought over to German territory, the war developed quickly into the fierce struggle which for thirty years was to shake almost the whole of Europe.

The Elector Frederick had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. Being a man of peace, James was anxious to succour his distressed son-in-law by diplomatic means and induced several German princes to take up arms on Frederick's behalf. In spite of the interests at stake — the violation by the emperor of the rights of a German

elector, and the danger to Protestant liberty — the German Evangelical princes could not unite in effective cooperation against Ferdinand. The »Catholic League» under a united command was therefore victorious, and the aggressive catholization carried out in Bohemia bade fair to extend into German Protestant states. Simultaneously, Spain renewed her attack on the free Netherlands, and in the east Sigismund of Poland eagerly grasped every opportunity to advance the Catholic cause. France, alone of Catholic powers, held aloof from the concerted attack, her leading statesman, Cardinal Richelieu, being equally ready to put down rebellious Protestants at home and counteract Habsburg and therefore Catholic dominance abroad.

These continental cross currents reached Sweden through her enmity to Poland. Sigismund would not hear of peace with Sweden. He had regarded Charles IX as an usurper and so he now regarded his son, refusing to give Gustavus Adolphus the title of king. When therefore peace with Russia had been secured, Gustavus Adolphus decided to follow his father's tactics and land his armies in Poland, endeavouring to capture the ports which might serve as bases of attack on Sweden. In 1621 he sailed across the Baltic, and landed with a well equipped army at the mouth of the Dvina. He took Riga after a short siege, and soon afterwards the whole of Livonia.

In the meantime the position of the German Protestants was growing more desperate. Their plight was brought home to Gustavus, when his brother-in-law, John Casimir of Zweibrücken, was forced to seek refuge in Sweden. The ambassadors of James I were busily engaged in persuading foreign rulers to interfere in the German struggle, visiting the courts both of Christian IV and of Gustavus for this purpose. The two monarchs were favourably disposed to these proposals, but for different

reasons. Christian was not blind to the sufferings of the German Protestants, but he was also anxious to acquire German territory for his younger sons. The offer of England to finance a German expedition, of which Christian should be the leader, was therefore eagerly accepted by him. He could hardly hope for a more favourable moment and refused to listen to any hesitation on the part of the Danish Council.

Gustavus Adolphus received the English proposals with far greater caution. He discerned the actual connection in the large offensive of the Catholic world, though formal alliances did not always bind the different states together. In a famous speech to the Estates in 1627, he expressed this conviction: »As one wave follows another in the sea, so the papal deluge is approaching our shores.» Sweden was not yet exposed to immediate danger, but her turn would come if the Catholic powers were victorious in Germany. Imbued with the spirit of Philip II, the House of Habsburg hoped to crush the last resistance of Protestantism. In the event of a Catholic victory, Sigismund might expect powerful support for subduing his rebellious Swedish subjects. Thus to Gustavus the fight for religious and political liberty grew into one. He was willing to take his share in the struggle, but only on certain terms. He was a true descendant of the practical Vasa kings, combining with his statesmanlike vision their practical and sober mind. He knew from reliable sources how formidable was the great military machine of Austria and Spain, and was not prepared to hazard the safety of his country and his recent conquests by attempting an ill-prepared expedition. He gave therefore courteous replies to the English proposals, but demanded large subsidies and effective military assistance and was in favour of Danish cooperation in the campaign.

James I considered that Gustavus Adolphus was demanding too much, and concluded an alliance with Christian IV. While the Danish king rushed into war without due preparation and met with disaster, Gustavus quietly and methodically prepared for a time when he might be compelled to act. From 1626 to 1629 Gustavus continued his operations against Poland, but he moved them to the mouths of the Vistula. By getting possession of these river mouths he would not only deprive Poland of her most conveniently situated points of attack but secure an excellent basis for future expeditions to Poland proper. Gustavus had also another object in view by this plan of campaign. If he were able to punish Sigismund, he would indirectly assist the German Protestant cause, and from the shores of the Vistula he would be nearer at hand should his help be required.

Gustavus Adolphus developed the Swedish fighting services very considerably during his Polish wars. He achieved naval supremacy in the Baltic, which was indispensable for the uninterrupted transport of troops and supplies to the war area. The backbone of his army consisted of Swedish and Finnish regiments. He used the organization introduced by Gustavus I and Eric XIV, developing it still further. It became the definite duty of each province to set up according to its population and wealth one or two regiments, in which the gaps were filled by local drafts of fresh recruits. At first the native soldiers were somewhat deficient in training and military experience, and as Gustavus Adolphus soon required larger numbers than the country could supply, he resorted to employing foreign mercenaries, chiefly Scots and Germans. He endeavoured, however, to keep down the numbers of these mercenaries in order that he should not be unduly dependent on their more questionable allegiance. Gustavus seldom had at

his disposal armies equal in size to those of his opponents. He set out to remedy this disadvantage by supplying his troops with light and up-to-date equipment, large stores of supplies being kept in readiness for their needs. What his army lacked in size it gained in mobility. He organized a field artillery capable of rapid firing and aimed at coordinating the various arms in such a way that the army should become an organic whole and possess the greatest possible striking power. Evidence of his capacity as a great military engineer is afforded by his fortified strongholds as well as by the successful sieges he conducted. He devoted much care to selecting and training his senior officers. Several of them had seen war service abroad under Maurice of Orange or other generals. To their previous experience was now added personal instruction from Gustavus in the peculiar conditions which prevailed in the Polish theatre of war. We are justified in speaking of Gustavus Adolphus' school of generals both in Prussia and later in Germany. Gustavus Horn, John Banér, Nils Brahe, Leonard Torstensson, Axel Lillie stand out among Swedish commanders, while among Germans Bernhard von Weimar, Königsmarck and Kniphausen, and among Scots Alexander Leslie, Patrick Ruthwen, Robert Douglas and James King may be mentioned as worthy pupils of their great master. Gustavus did not have time to develop his military organization to perfection during the Polish wars, but he gained from them practical experience which proved invaluable during his German campaign.

Gustavus did not altogether succeed in forcing Sigismund to speedy surrender. He had reckoned on support or at least friendly neutrality from his wife's brother, the Elector of Brandenburg, who held East Prussia as a fief under Poland. George William, however, followed a vacillating

policy, endeavouring to maintain good relations with both Sweden and Poland. At last Gustavus sent a message to the Elector, begging him not to be content to wear merely »the fox's brush but to don the lion's skin as well» *(ad caudam vulpinam etiam pellem leoninam)*, and threatened to attack him if he did not willingly surrender such places in East Prussia as were necessary to the Swedish operations. Sigismund on the other hand received assistance from Wallenstein, the commander-in-chief of the forces of the emperor; hence his resistance was materially increased. Gustavus was several times seriously wounded during the Prussian campaigns, and though in the main he was victorious, he did not manage to strike the decisive blow that he had hoped. The triumphant advance of the Catholic League in Germany, and the eager pleadings for help from the German Protestants made Gustavus more and more inclined to turn his army towards the west. Under French and English mediation, he agreed to an armistice with Poland for six years, in Altmark 1629, on condition that Sweden for this period should retain Livonia, and moreover the cities of Elbing, Braunsberg, Pillau and Memel in Prussia. In spite of the temporary nature of the treaty, and in spite of Sigismund's adherence — at least theoretically — to his right to the Swedish throne, the agreement implied that the danger from Poland was definitely overcome. As events were moving in central Europe, it was high time that the hands of Gustavus Adolphus should be free as regards Poland.

The intervention of Christian IV on behalf of the German Protestants had ended in disaster. He was severely beaten by the forces of the Catholic League, commanded by the veteran general Tilly. After Christian's reverse Wallenstein marched with imperial troops on Denmark, and conquered practically the whole of Jutland. These

Count Axel Oxenstjerna, Rikskansler or Chancellor (b. 1583, d. 1654).

Engraving from a portrait by Miereveld.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Field-marshals from the Thirty Years' War. 1. John Banér (b. 1596, d. 1641). Detail from contemporary picture. 2. Count Gustavus Horn (b. 1592, d. 1657). Portrait by D. Beck. 3. Count Lennart Torstensson (b. 1603, d. 1651). Engraving by J. Falck from a portrait by D. Beck. 4. Count Charles Gustavus Wrangel (b. 1613, d. 1676). Contemporary engraving.

successes inspired Wallenstein to further ambitious enterprise. He drove away the Protestant dukes of Mecklenburg, himself assuming their titles, sent reinforcements to Sigismund in order to check the advance of Gustavus Adolphus in East Prussia, and contemplated the erection on the German Baltic coast of a strong naval base from which to keep the Scandinavian kings in subjection. Relying on the support of his powerful army, he entertained schemes of making the emperor supreme in Germany and of putting an end to the independence of the autonomous princes. Wallenstein feigned no religious bias, his aims being purely political, but his military power enabled the emperor to issue a decree, commanding all Protestant princes to restore the Catholic faith and government in all districts which had passed into their hands since the peace of Augsburg in 1555. If carried out, the Edict of Restitution would practically nullify the work of the Reformation and, in addition, make the emperor more powerful than ever. Therefore it brought consternation not only among Protestants, but also among princes who were loyal to the emperor.

Foreign governments watched the developments of these far-reaching schemes with mingled interest and anxiety. The Netherlands, threatened by continuous attacks from Spain, and France doggedly pursuing her anti-Habsburg policy, learnt with dismay how the successes of Wallenstein stiffened Catholic resistance in Belgium and in Poland. Consequently Richelieu lost no time in fanning the flames of Protestant revolt, and he offered French subsidies to the king of Sweden and an alliance with France, to tempt him to intervene in Germany. England, however, was no longer prepared to help. Charles I, who had succeeded his father, James I, was too much hampered by his financial difficulties and by the increasing opposition from Parlia-

ment to make a definite stand. How keenly many of his subjects sympathized with the Protestant cause may be gauged by the large number of Scotch and English soldiers who joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus. It is worth mentioning that, later on, they made use of his methods of warfare in their own country during the civil war, which was to deprive King Charles both of his crown and of his life.[1]

The danger had come very close to the Scandinavian countries. Christian IV had already encountered it and depended on the clemency of the emperor. Wallenstein reached out from Mecklenburg towards Pomerania, and was besieging Stralsund with a view to conquering also the island of Rügen. Gustavus Adolphus, replying to his hostile acts in sending reinforcements to Sigismund, despatched troops to the assistance of Stralsund, thereby saving the city from falling into Wallenstein's hands. The Swedish king had thus opened hostilities against the forces of the emperor. Gustavus had a personal interview with Christian IV in 1629, endeavouring to put new heart into him and induce him once more to take up the fight with Swedish cooperation. Christian was now as despondent, however, as he had formerly been optimistic. When Wallenstein offered him peace on easy terms in order that he might withdraw his troops from Denmark, Christian agreed readily to his conditions. Gustavus then made an attempt to reach an understanding with the emperor, but his overtures were rejected with insolence.

In consultation with the Swedish Council, Gustavus decided that two courses only were open to him: either, he could remain passive, in the hope that the storm would

[1] C. H. Firth (»*Cromwell's Army*», London 1902) describes how the Swedish tactics influenced the operations of both sides during the English Civil War. Cf. also Robert Munro: »His Expedition of the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mackays.»

pass by, but conscious that if it did reach Sweden, it would burst with devastating violence; or he could muster all the forces at his disposal and meet it courageously. The latter alternative appealed to his temperament and was in keeping with his earlier policy; it met also with the approval of his advisers. Axel Oxenstjerna referred many years afterwards to this decision as an »inspiration of genius» *(impetus ingenii)*. The daring resolution to take the initial step undoubtedly reduced the actual danger ahead.

Early in the summer of 1630 Gustavus Adolphus again stood ready for another campaign, his immediate destination being Pomerania. Before embarking, he met the Estates in Stockholm, as usual giving them the gist of his future policy, and asking for their support. He also wished to take leave of them, seeing that he might never return from the hazardous adventures which loomed large in the distance. The deliberations over, Gustavus summoned the members of the *Riksdag* to meet him in the great hall of the Royal Palace. Thanking them sincerely for their loyalty, and encouraging them to cheerful determination, he wished them all and their common fatherland a lasting prosperity and finished with these prophetic words: »And as it generally happens that the pitcher is carried for water so long that it breaks at last, so will it in the end go with me. After having sacrificed my blood on several occasions and in manifold dangers for the welfare of the kingdom of Sweden — so far by the gracious care of God without serious bodily harm — yet in the end I must also give my life. I therefore commend all Swedish subjects and Estates, present as well as absent, to God, the All-highest, both to soul, life and material welfare, hoping that after this wretched and troublesome life we may, by the mercy of God, meet each other in the heavenly life which the Lord has prepared for us with joy everlasting.» After this he ad-

dressed the Council, saying: »I commend the members of the Council more especially to God's care, wishing with all my heart that with you sound advice may never be lacking, so that you may perform your public duties to the glory of God, and that His Holy Word and Doctrine may abide unadulterated with you and your children's children; further that peace and concord may be verdant and flourish among you, and that all ill-will, discord and revolt may be far away, and that you will never be found wanting in wise counsel for the safety and peace of our Fatherland; and that in the end among your descendants may grow up men who, by their strength and uprightness, will uphold the kingdom and the government.» He spoke similarly to each one of the Estates, finishing with the peasants: »My wish for the common man and peasantry is that their meadows may be green, and their fields give a hundredfold, so that their barns may be filled, and that they will all grow and increase in prosperity so that they may cheerfully and without murmur perform their duties and exercise their rights.» Next day he went on board his ship at Älvsnabben, where the navy lay in readiness and, after some delay caused by adverse wind, set sail and landed on Rügen on the 24th of June, 1630. »The King of Sweden has not crossed the Rubicon, but the wide sea», remarked Camerarius, the Swedish ambassador to the Netherlands.

* *
*

Gustavus took the decisive step without having more than one ally, the comparatively unimportant city of Stralsund. He had counted the cost, however, and did not expect to escape further embarrassing experience of fainthearted and undecided German princes, of whom his

brother-in-law was a typical example. Neither did he under-estimate the formidable military resources of his opponents, but as against these he ventured to rely with confidence on his own more advanced and perfected technique in warfare.

Richelieu's proffered alliance had not been accepted by Gustavus Adolphus, as the Swedish policy corresponded to that of France only in certain directions. Both Richelieu and Gustavus aimed at reducing the power of the emperor, but the former wished to exempt the Catholic League from open hostilities. In Germany it was unthinkable to separate religion from politics in the way that France, owing to her peculiar circumstances, was prepared to do. If the religious liberty of German Protestants should be secured, the League no less than the emperor must be defeated. Anxious to retain his freedom of action, Gustavus therefore refused Richelieu's offer both of an alliance and of French subsidies. Later on, when he did conclude an alliance with France, Gustavus promised to grant neutrality to the League on one condition, i. e. that the League should work for and uphold peace with the Protestants, demands which from their nature could not be fulfilled.

Soon after his landing in Germany Gustavus had a stroke of good fortune. The enmity of the German princes against Wallenstein — cleverly kept alive by France — had become so strong that the emperor was forced to dismiss him and place Tilly in command of his own forces as well as of the armies of the League. The advantage of united command was outweighed by the loss of Wallenstein's able generalship. Resenting the ingratitude of the emperor, Wallenstein retired to his estates in Bohemia, where he waited for the moment when he might once more be needed. He was convinced that thousands of soldiers and officers would flock to his banners, eager for adven-

tures and loot, as soon as he sent his emissaries to call them out. In secret he approached various people of influence, feeling his way to renewed activities, and amongst others also Gustavus Adolphus.

Working with his usual cautiousness, Gustavus established first of all a safe base of operations in Pomerania. He forced the duke to open Stettin and allow the Swedish army unrestricted access to his territory. Next he cleared Mecklenburg from imperial troops, and began in the spring of 1631 to advance southwards along the Oder. Tilly on the other hand turned towards the Elbe and began to besiege Magdeburg. Gustavus was anxious to succour this wealthy Protestant city, and requested that the Elector of Brandenburg should assist him by opening his fortresses to the Swedes and by letting the Swedish army march through his territory. The negotiations dragged on so long that Tilly had time to capture Magdeburg, and his soldiers looted and afterwards burnt the proud city. Having failed in his efforts to save Magdeburg, Gustavus entrenched himself at Werben and resisted successfully Tilly's attack on his fortifications. Tilly now marched towards Saxony in order to compel the Elector John Frederick to disband his army. The Elector of Saxony had been the leader of the neutral Protestant princes, but he now sent urgent messages to Gustavus, imploring his help against the imperialists. The Swedish army immediately hastened to relieve the Saxons and, joined by John Frederick and his troops, marched on Breitenfeld, a small village north of Leipzig, where Tilly lay in wait. On the 7th of September 1631 the sanguinary battle of Breitenfeld was fought. In the first onslaught Tilly routed the Saxons but, thanks to the bravery and superior equipment of the Swedes and to the generalship of Gustavus, Tilly's initial success was turned into defeat.

The victory of Breitenfeld was the turning-point in the German war. Although, in the future, fortune favoured alternate sides, the imperial party never regained its former ascendancy. Reinforced by numerous Protestant troops, Gustavus Adolphus marched through Thüringen (Thuringia) and along the Main valley towards the Rhine. He wished to set free the many unfortunate Protestants in these districts, surrounded by powerful Catholic states, and at the same time to attack the wealthy southern members of the League. His presence in the Rhine country was possibly also intended as a means of curbing French expansive ambitions in these regions. In the winter of 1632 Gustavus resided in Frankfurt am Main, and his court became a centre of the diplomatic and military world. From Frankfurt Gustavus organized the mobilization of the whole of northern Germany and held the threads of far-reaching and delicate negotiations in his hands.

The apparently brilliant career of Gustavus Adolphus was not without its dangers. Bavaria, the backbone of the League, was unscathed, and Wallenstein, who had been requested by the emperor to resume the command, was raising a large army. In the summer of 1632 Gustavus was making successful inroad into Bavaria, when he received news that Wallenstein was threatening the Protestant Nuremberg. This compelled him to alter his plans and hasten to the assistance of Nuremberg. For two long months the Swedish and the imperial armies lay entrenched in opposite camps, and when finally Gustavus attacked Wallenstein's position, he was repulsed with considerable loss. After this attempt he left Nuremberg, and followed the Danube towards Austria, hoping by this move to force Wallenstein to raise the siege. Wallenstein did leave the starved surroundings of Nuremberg, where he could no longer obtain supplies for his troops, but instead of pursu-

ing Gustavus he turned towards the north, threatening the Swedish chief line of communication, through Saxony, with the home country. By rapid marches Gustavus hurried his troops back through Thüringen and found Wallenstein settling down in winter quarters in Saxony. Again a momentous battle raged on the plains of Leipzig, this time close to Lützen.

On the 6th of November Gustavus Adolphus launched his attack on Wallenstein's lines. The two generals were equally brilliant as strategists, and the surge of battle rose and fell while the morning fog obstructed the movements. Gustavus, who was shortsighted, suddenly found himself with a few companions separated from his people and surrounded by enemies. They attacked him mercilessly, and his looted and mutilated body was afterwards found where the battle had raged most furiously. The news of the king's death spread rapidly, and spurred his troops on to almost superhuman efforts. At nightfall, Wallenstein ordered retreat, leaving the field of battle in the possession of the Swedes. Peasants from the neighbourhood assisted the Swedish soldiers to cart a large block of granite to the spot where Gustavus Adolphus fell. This simple monument, *Schwedenstein,* still commemorates the death of the Swedish hero.

Though the Swedish army gained the victory at Lützen, the loss it had sustained by the death of Gustavus Adolphus far outweighed the success. Among Protestants the news of his death was received with profound grief, while Catholics all over Europe rejoiced in the event. In their rejoicing was mingled some recognition of the outstanding personality of the Swedish king, and of the unusual power that he had wielded — a tribute not often paid to an enemy in that stormy and intolerant age. Gualdo Priorato, an Italian who had fought against Gustavus Adolphus,

writes in a later historic work: »The news of the king's death was rapidly spread abroad, and the event called forth different comments in various places. — To many this message seemed a mockery, a delusion, a dream, for in their imagination they could not comprehend that the king had fallen. Only a short while ago he had been crowned with victories and triumphs. He seemed to have subdued fortune, and not only to have won her favour... In France, in England, in the Netherlands everybody was stricken dumb by the hand of fate. Kings and princes in these countries admitted that a noble king had passed away, and that adequate words failed them to express their grief. The Catholics even, who were his enemies, dared not lift their heads in rejoicing. Reports of his courage and chivalry had won not only the love of his own soldiers and people, but also the admiration of strangers and enemies. No prince was ever so beloved as he was.... In every undertaking he showed common sense, in every discussion he was eloquent, in all deliberations moderate, in enterprise daring, in work steadfast, in difficulties wise, in battle courageous, in dangers unafraid, at all times vigilant... in one word he was a prince who knew everything and understood everything. No general was obeyed with greater affection and readiness... He made no difference by treating Protestants more leniently than Catholics, but showed as much goodwill to one party as to another. He declared that they were all beings created by God, and that he regarded each one who diligently observed the laws of authority as possessing a good faith.«

The life of Gustavus Adolphus was cut short when he stood at the height of success, and his plans for the future are therefore left open to conjecture. From his correspondence with Oxenstjerna and from instructions to his diplomatic agents it may definitely be inferred that he did not

aspire after the imperial crown — which has often been thought probable. The same sources give evidence of his scheme to unite the liberated Protestants into a large and well organized coalition under the leadership of Sweden. As a model for this *Corpus evangelicorum* he took the constitution of the free Netherlands. It would be futile to discuss the merits of such an organization, for without the personal influence of Gustavus Adolphus it could not be built up. There was nobody to take his place when he was gone, and although the idea of union was not entirely lost sight of, the result was only a faint semblance of the scheme outlined by Gustavus. In other respects it may safely be said, however, that his life work was not in vain, but was continued by others and brought to a successful issue. The inscription on his tomb in *Riddarholmskyrkan* in Stockholm voices truly the justifiable pride of his people: *moriens triumphavit* — »he triumphed in death».

* *
*

One characteristic of a truly great man is the power of enlisting the loyal cooperation of others and of inspiring them to continue the work he began during his lifetime. During the working out of such ideas by his successors, however, some modification of the original plan is inevitable, for the mental outlook of no two men is precisely the same. The genius of Gustavus Adolphus had kindled the enthusiasm of his subordinates, and immediately after his death many hands joined together in order to continue what he had begun.

Nowhere was the message from Lützen received with deeper and more sincere sorrow than in Sweden. When it reached the assembled Council on the 8th. of December, the aged statesmen are said to have wept like children. But

their grief was not one of despair, and when they had relieved their intense feelings, they pulled themselves together and began to take such steps as the occasion demanded. In Germany Axel Oxenstjerna showed the same fortitude, and he sent the following message to his colleagues at home: »I have a weight round my neck, under which a brave man may well stagger. But I assure you that as far as it is in my power, and as behoves a true patriot of my position, I shall endeavour to serve the interests of my country.»

There were many serious questions to consider. The succession was indisputable, but Christina, who now inherited her father's throne, was only six years old. Her mother, Maria Eleonora, was equally unfit to reign because of her lack of balance. In a letter to Axel Oxenstjerna two years earlier, Gustavus Adolphus expressed his concern for his wife and child, should they be deprived of his care: »My family is for my sake, if anything should happen to me, and also in many other respects, greatly to be pitied. They are women, the mother has no initiative and the daughter is too young and impotent to be left to govern, and they are in great danger if others should be set to rule over them.» He asks his trusted chancellor to do his utmost for them both in time of need.

Immediately after the death of the king, Axel Oxenstjerna took charge of Swedish affairs in Germany, the home government sending him credentials to act as their plenipotentiary. His intimate knowledge of the political situation and of the plans of Gustavus Adolphus made him as far as diplomacy and administration were concerned the only possible substitute for the king. Of purely military matters he had not sufficient experience, and these were therefore left to the decision of his son-in-law, Gustavus Horn, who had been second in command under Gustavus Adolphus. In Sweden, the Council continued to act as a temporary

government — in the same way that it had acted while the king was absent during his campaigns — until the Estates should have an opportunity of establishing a permanent regency. In consultation with Gustavus Adolphus, Oxenstjerna had drafted a constitution in which were embodied laws regarding the administrative reorganization which they had carried out together in practice. These proposals were approved by the Estates in 1634, and were therefore called 1634 *Års Regeringsform,* or »the Constitution of 1634». Its principal clauses have been dealt with above (p. 222). It was decided that the regency during the minority of the queen was to consist of the five *Riksämbetsmän* or State officials, each of whom should be in charge of a government department or *Rikskollegium:* The »Chief Steward» or *Riksdrots* was the highest judicial authority, the »Marshal» or *Riksmarsk* was responsible for the military organization, while the »Admiral» or *Riksamiral* superintended the naval forces, and the »Chancellor» or *Rikskansler* dealt with foreign affairs and correspondence and the »Treasurer» or *Riksskattmästare* had charge of the finances of the country. The influence of Axel Oxenstjerna dominated in the regency: his brother Gabriel became »Chief Steward», and his cousin Gabriel Bengtsson »Treasurer». The »Marshal», James De la Gardie was his old and trusted friend. Other members of the Council, which at this time numbered about twenty, generally gave way to the wishes of the chancellor so that he became the actual ruler without being formally appointed regent.

During the next few years Oxenstjerna remained in Germany as Swedish plenipotentiary. He presided over a meeting of representative South-German Protestants which had been convened in the lifetime of the king. The meeting was held in the winter of 1633 in Heilbronn, when the delegates from the various states agreed to take united military

and political action under the leadership of the Swedish Chancellor. It was hoped to create similar organizations in other parts of Germany, but several states made difficulties, and before anything definite had been accomplished, the military situation was radically changed. After the battle of Lützen, Wallenstein retired to Bohemia, resenting the emperor's proposal to call in Spanish reinforcements. Such a step would threaten the military autocracy that Wallenstein was endeavouring to establish, and in wounded pride he started to play the rôle of independent peacemaker. When he approached Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who commanded the nearest Swedish troops, several of Wallenstein's colonels conspired from Vienna against him, and murdered him at Eger, in February 1634. In the following summer the imperial army, reinforced by Spanish troops, entered Bavaria from the south. Bernhard of Weimar joined forces with Gustavus Horn and prepared for battle. The latter strongly advised against this course, but in the end he let Bernhard of Weimar have his way. The Swedish army proceeded to attack the strong position held by the superior enemy at Nördlingen, August 1634, but suffered a severe defeat. In his heroic attempt to cover the retreat, Horn himself was taken prisoner, which considerably added to the Swedish disaster. The League of Heilbronn fell to pieces, and the consequences of the defeat were felt in the whole of Germany. The Elector of Saxony, who was perpetually unreliable as an ally, concluded a separate peace with the emperor and eventually joined the imperial party which aimed at driving the Swedes out of Germany.

Henceforth the character of the war was entirely changed. There was no longer any prospect of a comprehensive Protestant League, and the need for such a defensive alliance were daily growing smaller. Even the most zealous Catholics began to realize that religious liberty must be respected

and recognized. Much depended, however, on how this recognition was granted, and how it was to be maintained. Oxenstjerna adhered to the view expressed by Gustavus Adolphus that Sweden should be made the guarantor of the rights of the German Protestants, and receive certain territory as a permanent possession, both as a means of strengthening her relations with Germany, and as a recompense for her great sacrifices in the war. Thus the political aspect became dominant, and Oxenstjerna agreed to a closer alliance with France, which power from the first had participated in the war for purely political reasons. France enlisted the services of Bernhard of Weimar, and began to make conquests on the Rhine, while the Swedes endeavoured to bring about peace with the emperor and his allies by repeated expeditions from Pomerania. After a visit to France where Swedish and French cooperation was definitely agreed upon, Oxenstjerna returned in the summer of 1636 to Sweden. The responsibility of carrying out his instructions in Germany rested in the future mainly on the Swedish commander-in-chief.

The first general to undertake this difficult task was John Banér. His position was extremely precarious, for hardly a single German ally remained loyal, and everything depended on the Swedish army. It was becoming more and more difficult to raise money to pay the mercenary troops, and the discipline of the army suffered in consequence. Banér's military genius and the power he exercised over his men restored the efficiency, and he won several conspicuous successes, among which the victory over the combined Saxon and imperial forces at Wittstock (1636) is the best known. He felt obliged, however, to depart from the honourable methods of Gustavus Adolphus, who had forbidden looting or any extortionate treatment of the peaceful population. He resorted instead to the common practice of the enemy

in letting the war feed itself, and the occupied country suffered terribly in his hands. Leonard Torstensson, who after Banér's death succeeded him, profited by his skilful tactics, and was able to carry the war into the heart of Austria. His position was so strong that in addition to his expeditions towards the south, he was able to launch a successful attack on Denmark.

Christian IV, whose interference in German affairs had been a failure, greatly resented the success of Gustavus Adolphus and watched with envy the Swedish occupation of German territory which he himself had coveted. He also foresaw the possibility of being closed in by the Swedes by reason of their new possessions close to the southern borders of Denmark. By various diplomatic manoeuvres, Christian set about to thwart the Swedish plans of expansion, offering himself as mediator in a general peace conference. Swedish interests could not possibly be left in worse hands, and the regency in Stockholm decided to regard Christian as an open enemy. The immediate cause of war was found in fresh difficulties arising from the Danish right to take toll in the Sound. This convenient and lucrative source of income tempted the Danish kings to extravagance, and whenever they found themselves in financial difficulties, they stiffened their demands in the Sound. The exemption from toll granted to Swedish ships by the peace treaty of Knäred had been a matter of constant irritation to Christian. As far as possible he endeavoured to limit this concession and refused point blank to allow exemption to such territory as Sweden had acquired since the peace of Knäred. Sharp notes complaining of the treatment of Swedish ships were answered by arrogant Danish rejoinders and at the same time Christian unwisely challenged the maritime Dutch states by increasing the toll. When therefore the Swedish government decided to oppose these new

Danish impositions by force of arms, they could count on the sympathy and possibly even the active support of the Netherlands. In the summer of 1643 Torstensson received orders to withdraw from Moravia and instead to attack Denmark. Another Swedish army was simultaneously to invade Skåne, while Louis De Geer was raising strong naval reinforcements in the Netherlands. Denmark was unprepared for these attacks. The Swedish forces occupied both Jutland and Skåne, and the islands only just escaped a similar fate thanks to the fighting power of the Danish navy. As a result Christian was obliged to submit to the hard peace terms of Brömsebro (August 1645): unrestricted exemption from toll in the Sound was granted to Sweden and all her dominions; Denmark surrendered Ösel and the once Swedish provinces of Jämtland, Härjedalen and Gottland; as a guarantee that the exemption of toll should be carried out, Sweden should occupy the province of Halland for a period of thirty years.

After this short and decisive campaign Torstensson turned his forces again towards the south, defeated an imperial army at Jankau in Bohemia (1645) and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Vienna. His successor, Wrangel, moved the theatre of war to southern Germany so as to cooperate more closely with France. The power of resistance of the emperor and his Catholic allies was at last broken. A general peace conference had started preliminary discussions in Osnabrück and Münster in 1644. From 1645 onwards the Swedish and French victories helped to hasten the tedious and delicate negotiations, and the peace of Westphalia was signed on the 14th of October 1648. Shortly before the peace was signed, a Swedish army under Königsmarck captured one side of Prague. Thus the last fight in this long grim war took place on the same spot where, thirty years previously, the first hostilities began.

Christina (Reigning Queen 1632—54).

Portrait by A. Wuchters.

Charles Gustavus (King 1654—60).

Engraving by J. Falck from a portrait by D. Beck.

Louis De Geer, a leader of Swedish industry (b. 1587, d. 1652).
Engraving by J. Falck.

Olof Rudbeck, All-round scientist, Professor in the University of Uppsala (b. 1630, d. 1702).
Portrait by M. van Meytens the elder.

The peace treaty ensured for the future full religious liberty to the German Protestants, and gave them equal rights with the Catholics. The political consequences of this agreement soon became evident. The German Empire had practically ceased to exist; the emperor would retain little more than the empty title, the decline of the central authority being particularly marked owing to the increased power of several princes, especially the electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria. Sweden received as fief the whole of Vorpommern, Stettin with immediate surroundings in Hinterpommern, the city of Wismar, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. The German states further undertook to pay five million *riksdaler*. France retained her Alsatian conquests which were severed from the German empire and incorporated with French territory. The Netherlands concluded a separate peace with Spain, by which they obtained recognition of their independence.

* *
*

The actual signing of the peace treaty was, however, not in itself sufficient to reintroduce ordered conditions after such a terrible upheaval. In the first place it would be no easy matter to carry out the treaty while Germany was in a state of anarchy and collapse. Representatives of Sweden and of the various German states met in Nuremberg in order to settle the practical execution of the terms of the treaty. While these negotiations were in progress the Swedish army in Germany was kept up almost to its full strength under the command of Charles Gustavus of Pfalz, nephew of Gustavus Adolphus. Even after the treaty obligations had been carried out the conditions were far from normal. The peace terms gave rise to much friction, as for instance in respect of readjusted boundaries. The victors were as usual

not altogether satisfied with their gains, nor were the vanquished ready to submit to their losses. German princes made for a time disquieting attempts to expand their possessions, and the attitude of foreign powers added to the general uncertainty. Governed by Cardinal Mazarin and by Louis XIV, France pursued an even more rigidly anti-Habsburg policy than had been the case under Richelieu, and she attempted among other things to exercise political dominance over German princes. Sweden made similar bids for political influence. Hence disturbances in these countries often reverberated in German domestic affairs, while the existing chaos in Germany necessarily influenced conditions outside her borders. One definite gain had been assured: the religious wars in Europe had come to an end, and it had become evident that Catholic schemes to put everything under the yoke of Rome by armed force could no longer succeed.

In spite of the general peace treaty, relations between France and Spain continued to be hostile, and before long war broke out between the English Commonwealth and the Netherlands. Though this struggle was of short duration (1652—1653) its effects on trade were felt in the whole of Europe. Swedish interests suffered badly, concerns like De Geer's carrying on large business with the Netherlands, no less than Swedish concerns exporting steel and timber to England, the latter trade having for some time been steadily on the increase. Regarding Swedish mercantile policy as troublesome and too independent, the Dutch approached Denmark, where Christian's son, Frederick III, was anxious to obtain assistance to repair the losses sustained by the peace of Brömsebro. England under Cromwell and Sweden arrayed themselves against this Danish-Dutch coalition. Bulstrode Whitelocke, who was sent to Stockholm to negotiate, concluded an important trade agreement with the Swedish

government, and this facilitated the further step of political cooperation.[1]

During this period of unrest the Swedish government had felt compelled to maintain a considerable army, which in itself undoubtedly was an incentive to start new wars. Large numbers of officers, Swedes as well as foreigners, were kept inactive in Stockholm. Impatient with their enforced idleness, they besought the government to embark on fresh military ventures. When Christina abdicated in 1654 (p. 268) in favour of her cousin Charles X, these alluring voices found a willing ear, and before long an opportune moment came for forcing the old enemy, Poland, to a permanent and advantageous settlement.

After Sigismund's death his elder son, Vladislav, succeeded him as king of Poland. During his reign the armistice of Altmark was extended for another twenty-six years, though Sweden was obliged to restore to Poland the Prussian ports and their lucrative revenue (p. 240). Serious domestic troubles arose, however, towards the end of Vladislav's reign, and after his death (1648) his younger brother, John Casimir, found them more and more difficult to cope with. The unruly Cossack population on the Dnieper made repeated efforts to shake off Polish rule and to set up an independent state. Unable to hold their own against the Poles, the Cossack leaders asked for help from Moscow. This was readily given, but before long the Cossacks were forced to bow down to Russian rule. These Cossack insurrections began the process of Polish disintegration and initiated Russian expansion at the expense of her western neighbour. The weakness betrayed by John Casimir in dealing with these revolts roused the Polish aristocracy to opposition. Charles X grasped this opportunity

[1] Whitelock wrote a very interesting *Journal of the Swedish Embassy* etc. (ed. 1772 and 1855).

for bringing Poland to agree to a permanent peace and hoped at the same time to stem the Russian advance. In the summer of 1655 Swedish troops marched from Pomerania across Brandenburg territory into Poland.

The outstanding ability and daring of Charles X was unfortunately not combined with the rare balance which had characterized his uncle, Gustavus Adolphus. His youth had been spent with the Swedish army at a time when one victory succeeded another, and Charles became therefore somewhat too ready to cut a difficult knot with the sword as the best way of solving a problem. In military science Torstensson had been his chief instructor, in the art of diplomacy he had served his apprenticeship at Nuremberg where the post-war discussions about the peace terms of 1648 took place. By his marriage to Hedvig Eleonora of Holstein he became connected with a dynasty which was an hereditary enemy of Denmark.

Fortune seemed to smile on him and his army. No organized resistance met him in Poland, and in rapid succession he captured the two capitals, Warsaw and Cracow. Before long, however, a Polish nationalist resistance made itself felt, and at the same time the attitude of Brandenburg began to cause trouble in East Prussia. The skilful diplomacy of Frederick William, the then elector, aimed at uniting and cementing together the scattered dominions which Brandenburg had acquired by the peace of Westphalia. His endeavour met eventually with success, and he may be regarded as the founder of the kingdom of Prussia, though »the great elector» as he was called never bore the title of king. In his dealings with Sweden and Poland, Frederick William continually sat on the fence in order to jump down on the winning side at the right moment. He coveted Swedish Pomerania, as did his successors after him, and the help he was forced to give Charles X

was half-hearted. He fought with the Swedish army in the battle of Warsaw (1656) where John Casimir's attempt to reconquer his capital was frustrated. After this victory Frederick William drew back, and saw with satisfaction how the storm clouds gathered over Poland and her enemies. The effect of the victories of Charles reached no further than his sword. He found it impossible to hold with his small army such a disconnected state, vast, inaccessible and devoid of political unity. His flanks and rear were embarrassed by roving enemy detachments, and large reinforcements brought to his aid by Prince George Racoczy of Siebenbürgen were too inefficient to be of use. Frederick William might well leave Charles to his Polish difficulties, and there were others also who watched them keenly.

Frederick III of Denmark kept in close touch with the Elector of Brandenburg and was no less pleased to see, as he thought, Charles X gradually disappear in the Polish quagmires. He could count on the friendly attitude of the Netherlands, should he seize an opportunity of avenging the recent humiliating war. In the spring of 1657 his views prevailed on the Danish Council, and war was declared on Sweden. He had not prepared for war but gambled on the assumption that Charles would be tied up in Poland and that the Elector of Brandenburg would change over to the Danish side. He little guessed what disappointment was in store for him.

On receiving the news that Denmark had declared war, Charles immediately withdrew his troops to Pomerania, leaving garrisons in the more important fortresses on the way. He then marched by rapid stages through Mecklenburg towards Holstein where he was cordially received by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Charles followed the plan of campaign previously adopted by Torstensson and made a lightning descent on Denmark.

He captured Fredriksodde (now Fredericia), the only fortress on Jutland (October 1657), after which the whole peninsula was at the mercy of the Swedes. But in spite of these successes, Charles's situation was critical. Brandenburg ranged herself openly on the side of Denmark, her troops approaching from the south to aid King Frederick. Suddenly a severe frost set in, and in January 1658 Little Belt froze, and Charles was able to cross with his troops to Fyen. He routed the Danish forces and conquered the whole island. Even this success was not decisive, however, and he feared the approach of spring, when a Dutch fleet would in all probability come to the rescue of Denmark.

In the face of such possibilities, Charles X began seriously to consider a still more daring enterprise. As the cold continued he contemplated the possibility of crossing also Great Belt on the ice. It meant taking grave risks to transport 5,000 men with guns and waggons across the ice of a channel more than thirty kilometres wide, and furthermore endangered by treacherous currents. On the other hand the gain would be enormous. The defences of Sjaelland were no better than those in other parts of Denmark, and the neglected fortifications of Copenhagen could not offer serious resistance. If Charles succeeded in his project he would be able to dictate terms to the conquered Danes. The king eagerly discussed the possibilities with his staff officers. Experienced and cautious generals like Wrangel thought the danger too great and advised strongly against it. Charles, however, did not give up the thought. He had the ice carefully examined by a young officer in the engineering corps, Eric Dahlberg, who was ready to answer with his life that the ice would hold. On the 5th. of February the Swedish army marched from Svendborg to Langeland, thence across the wide straits to Laaland and

on to Falster, without meeting with any resistance. On the 11th. of February Charles reached Vordingborg on Sjaelland. The unprecedented and hazardous adventure was a complete success, and its results became immediately visible.

At Vordingborg Charles found members of the Danish Council on their way to Langeland to sue for peace. Sir Philip Meadows, who had been sent by Cromwell to act as mediator, was with them. »You here, Mr. Ambassador?» exclaimed the Swedish king, whereupon the English diplomatist answered: »Upon my word, I am even more astounded to meet your Majesty in this place.» No negotiations were attempted. Charles advanced on Copenhagen, and Frederick was obliged to accept his terms. The peace of Roeskilde was signed on the 26th. of February, 1658. Denmark surrendered Skåne, Blekinge, Halland, Bohuslän and Trondhjem's län. Frederick undertook further to break off from the hostile coalition against Sweden and to combine with her to shut out enemy navies from the Baltic. The Swedish success, gained by a combination of fortunate circumstances, was indeed remarkable. Sweden had at last acquired the southern provinces which geographically belonged to her, and extended her territory to the natural boundaries of the sea. Charles travelled with justifiable pride from Kronborg to receive the homage of his new subjects across the Sound.

Success often tempts to arrogance, however. While Charles was planning an expedition to Germany to settle his account with the Elector of Brandenburg he began to suspect Frederick of entertaining designs of striking at his rear. Regretting that he had not crushed Denmark the winter before, he suddenly altered his plans, and landed in Sjaelland without previous declaration of war. But it was too late. By the aid of the burghers, King Frederick

strengthened the fortifications of his capital, and a large Dutch fleet arrived with reinforcements. Wrangel, who tried to block the Sound with the Swedish navy, was forced to give way after a sharp encounter, and the Dutch men of war sailed into the roadstead of Copenhagen. A Swedish attempt to capture Copenhagen by storm was beaten off with great loss to the assailants. The Elector of Brandenburg sent troops which assisted in the defence of Copenhagen, whereas Charles's hopes of active English support were shattered by the death of Cromwell and the fall of the Commonwealth. France, however, showed herself disposed to further a settlement of the Scandinavian quarrel, now that she had ended her war with Spain by an advantageous peace (1659).

At this critical juncture Charles summoned the Estates to Göteborg in the winter of 1660. While the proceedings were still in progress, the king succumbed to a serious illness which ended his life in the course of a few days. On his deathbed he appointed a regency for his small son. The new government took advantage of the general war-weariness, and accepted French mediation. A treaty of peace was concluded with Denmark in Copenhagen, 1660, Trondhjem's län being restored to Denmark—Norway. Hostilities were also ended with Brandenburg and Poland by the treaty of Oliva (1660). This treaty brought the struggle between Sweden and Poland, which had lasted more than half a century, to a final conclusion. In the main pre-war conditions were restored, and Poland recognized Swedish dominion in Livonia. The Elector of Brandenburg gained permanently the sovereign right to East Prussia, which had been granted by Poland during the war. Thus for a short period Europe was to enjoy a general and much needed peace.

* * *

Looking back on the sixty years of war which occupied the period between the battle of Stångebro (p. 204) and the treaty of Oliva, certain questions naturally present themselves. How was it possible for a country with such limited resources as Sweden possessed to carry on? And, secondly, what were the effects of the necessary exertion on the state of the people?

The first question has been at least partly answered by the above narrative. The Swedish people had accumulated a considerable reserve of national strength during previous epochs, and this innate force was focussed and utilized by a number of wise and statesmanlike leaders just at a time when neighbouring countries showed sign of weakness or disintegration. Hence it was not surprising that Swedish participation in European politics was singularly effective, and that the once somewhat disregarded country rose to an influential position in the short space of half a century. The second question is perhaps more difficult to answer than the first. The way domestic conditions in Sweden developed after the peace of Oliva suggests that she had been too severely taxed by the exertions of war, and that the political machinery had received damages which might be beyond repair. On the other hand there were also many healthy symptoms of vigorous constitutional life which gave fair promise that the new-won glory might yet be saved and the danger of retrogression averted.

During the reign of Gustavus Adolphus the endeavours of past generations to evolve a Swedish constitution had been crowned with success. *1634 Års Regeringsform* (p. 222), the result of the joint labours of Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna, regulating both local administration and central government, may be said to remain law in essentials even now. The most noteworthy change effected by the new law was probably the altered

status of the Council, which from now onwards became a cabinet, resident in the capital and working in close cooperation with the regent. According to tradition the *Riksråd* or Council consisted of the wealthiest and most powerful nobles, who in their own spheres of life exercised considerable influence. As members of the Council they were not obliged to give up their important work as local administrators, ambassadors or officers in the army or navy, but combined this with their central executive duties. Their residence in Stockholm was therefore not permanent nor did the Council often meet in full assembly. Even those members who had no special public duties to call them away from the capital, rarely spent all their time there. In order to keep up the appearances which their high office seemed to demand, they were obliged to make the utmost of their private fortune, and as this mostly consisted in land, they devoted much care to the management of their private estates and retired for long periods to the country. Besides the chiefs of the five state departments only a few of their colleagues, who were most closely attached to these, attended more or less regularly the sittings of the Council.

The relations between the Council (especially its »inner circle») and the king were not clearly defined. The law laid down that the king should govern with »*råds råde*» or in consultation with the Council; i. e. he should ascertain the views of the Council and hear its advice, but there were no limits to his power of decision. The prestige of the king, whose authority was sanctioned by the Church, enabled him as a rule to carry the opinion of the Council with him, the more so as his arguments were based on more intimate knowledge of for instance foreign affairs than was available to any of his subjects. A wise ruler recognized, however, that many eyes could see better than two and that the local and often varied experiences of his Council

members admirably supplemented the information he received from his direct agents. Hence the relations between king and Council were left to the judgment and discretion of both, and on the whole things worked smoothly. Possibilities of friction were not entirely absent, however, for it was conceivable either that the Council might wish to encroach on the king's power of decision, or that the king would pay too little regard to the opinion of his advisers.

As time went on circumstances tended to increase the power of the Council. When Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, ascended the throne at the age of six (1632) the regency appointed until she reached her majority in 1644 consisted of the five most important members of the Council (*Riksämbetsmän,* cf. p. 252). Although the policy of Axel Oxenstjerna dominated in this regency, he had several able colleagues, whose prestige was enhanced by the success of the Swedish armies abroad. The education of the young and gifted queen was carefully directed. Possessing a keen intellect and an artistic temperament, she delighted in the study of the arts and sciences, and became a really learned woman. In spite of her scholarly attainments she was vain and fond of display, throwing herself heart and soul into the splendid festivities which she arranged at her court. She could upon occasion discuss politics with shrewd judgment, but she felt a strong aversion to the monotony of administrative routine, and shrank above all from tackling the most urgent problem of her reign, i. e. the distressing financial position of the state. Though Christina was anxious to appear with royal authority, and though the veteran statesmen in the Council bowed their silvery heads in obeisance to their young queen, the reins of government must be trusted to more experienced hands than hers. The consciousness of this and

of her own incapacity or perhaps even unwillingness to embark on the necessary financial reform, produced in Christina's mind a feeling of dissatisfaction, which grew as the years passed by. Her longing for a sunnier climate and a more congenial atmosphere, where her daily life might be enriched by the beauty and delight of ancient culture, hastened her decision to renounce her crown, her country and her religion. In spite of the earnest representations of the Council, Christina abdicated in favour of her cousin, Charles Gustavus (1654), the right of succession being transferred to him and his descendants. At the *Riksdag* in Uppsala where Christina laid down her sceptre, Charles X was acknowledged as king of Sweden and afterwards crowned in the Cathedral of Uppsala (1654). Christina immediately left the country, joined the Roman Church and finally settled in Rome, where she died in 1689.

The new king claimed descent from the House of Vasa through his mother; hence he and his line were often said to belong to the »illustrious Gustavian dynasty». But a certain antagonism had long been evident between the powerful Swedish aristocracy and his father, the insignificant German prince who had sought refuge in Sweden. Hence Charles X could not command the whole-hearted loyalty bestowed on his predecessors. He had early been accustomed to exercise military authority, however, and proved himself before long to be a born leader also in statecraft. The group of public men who had served under Gustavus Adolphus was gradually thinning out. Only by a few months did Axel Oxenstjerna, for instance, survive the grief of seeing the daughter of his great master desert her country. Charles was therefore unhampered by any serious opposition from the old school of politicians, and started his reign with full sovereign powers. But his campaigns on

the continent made it often necessary for the Council to conduct administrative duties without reference to the king, and after his premature death the new regency strengthened the aristocratic influence still further. But in his short reign Charles found opportunity of making an important contribution to the solution of the intricate financial position of the country.

Even in peace time the management of Sweden's finances was a difficult task, for the revenue continued to be collected chiefly in kind, while the expenditure more and more tended to demand ready money. During a lengthy period of warfare the financial machinery was bound to break down unless new and lucrative sources of income could be discovered. Such outside sources were also made use of by the Swedish government: subsidies were received from foreign powers — a dangerous method, for it carried in its train political dependence; contributions were exacted by the Swedish army in occupied territory; again, the income from tolls in the Prussian ports which came into Swedish hands by the treaty of Altmark was, according to Oxenstjerna, as great as the normal revenue of the Swedish Crown. His distress when these cities were lost by the next treaty was correspondingly great. The income from such outside sources must necessarily be uncertain. The attempts of the government to raise more money at home, did not go far. By granting monopolies to special companies to deal in certain commodities such as tar and pitch the government obtained large but wholly inadequate sums. It was extremely difficult to induce the Estates to agree to anything in the nature of heavy emergency taxation. In these circumstances, the government was often forced to reward or compensate valuable public services by giving away Crown property or in some cases the right to collect rates in certain districts. When,

as a result of the war, the need for silver and gold became greater in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, the regency was compelled to go further on this slippery path, and alienate still larger domains and other sources of state revenue.

Many Swedish officers amassed large private fortunes during the wars, but there was no recognized form of state loan, or at least no other that the lender was prepared to invest his money in than such where he was given real security in landed property. The most attractive form of security to the lender was such property as could not be redeemed but in which he possessed full proprietary rights. The government began therefore to mortgage or sell Crown property and revenue on an increasingly large scale. This brought temporary affluence, easing the financial burden of the rulers, and was welcomed by the aristocratic investors, but in the long run it was bound to diminish the revenue of the Crown. Christina used this way of compensating her subjects for their services more than any previous monarch. She delighted to reward valuable public service with princely munificence — undoubtedly an attractive trait in her character but not altogether wise if carried to excess. She found it difficult to refuse others, of less merit, who pushed themselves forward, and she had also personal favourites on whom she showered her gifts. As an example of her extravagance may be mentioned that she increased the number of titled families holding the title of count from three to twenty, and of those holding the title of baron from seven to thirty-four. The titles as a rule carried with them large property, from which the revenue due to the Crown went to the private owner, who did not thereby incur any financial responsibility. In lesser degree Christina displayed her reckless generosity also to a large number of commoners.

It is evident that this abuse of an economic system which, even when used cautiously, was fraught with grave danger, must lead the country to ruin. Apart from the serious financial difficulties arising from this manner of raising ready money, it had also other unfortunate consequences. The property and revenue alienated from the Crown came almost exclusively into the hands of the aristocracy, thus strengthening still further the dominant position of this class. The free peasantry became therefore more and more dependent on the landowning nobility, and its ancient liberty was in jeopardy. On relinquishing the right to collect revenue, the Crown transferred theoretically the same right to an individual, the peasant remaining unmolested in possession of his holding. But in practice, this right might easily be abused by private noblemen bent on their own enrichment. The peasant proprietor was in danger of being regarded as a tenant, who might be driven from hearth and home if he failed to pay his dues. Such disastrous possibilities gave rise to much uneasiness in the peasant class, and the discontent was shared by the other unprivileged classes, which were equally opposed to an all too powerful aristocracy. Vital social problems no less than the economic embarrassment of the government, made it impossible to resist the demand for reform.

More than once the lower classes had united in bringing serious complaints to Christina's notice, pointing out the financial entanglement and the undue predominance of the aristocracy. The queen did not take the matter up, however, leaving her successor to repair the damaged machinery of the exchequer. The saner element in the nobility recognized that the position was untenable and were prepared for a compromise. The method which seemed most equitable consisted in the reappropriating by the Crown of part of such property and economic rights

as had been recently given up by the State. It was difficult, however, to find some rational basis permitting the State to replenish her coffers without endangering the security of private ownership. The simplest way would have been to re-emphasize the tenets in the old medieval laws (p. 65): »The king must not reduce the property of the Crown, and, should any ruler resort to such unlawful practice, his successor would be entitled to reappropriate the land of which the State had been deprived.» Such procedure, however, would have made »confusion worse confounded», for Crown land, especially estates that had long been in private hands, might have changed owner several times. Charles X urged the necessity of drastic measures at a *Riksdag* in Stockholm in 1655. The nobility agreed that the state should reclaim all property that had been given away within areas specially assigned for the maintenance of the court, the fighting services, and the mining industries, and further that the Crown should be entitled in these districts to redeem such estates as had been sold or mortgaged. The nobility also undertook to return a quarter of all property received as gifts in other parts of the country, but stipulated that whatever had been lawfully acquired before the death of Gustavus Adolphus (1632) should be their inalienable possession for all time. The king and the other classes accepted this offer, which received legal sanction by the Riksdag.

The decision of 1655 (the so-called *fjärdepartsräfsten* or »reduction by a quarter») was a compromise; the nobility renounced voluntarily part of their not altogether safe possessions in order to gain security of tenure for the rest. The king preferred to content himself with this modest result rather than to provoke strife by attempting to gain more. But owing to his foreign campaigns he was not able to see the matter through, and even this alleviating

Riddarhuset (»The House of the Nobility») in Stockholm, erected 1642—80 in Dutch Baroque, by Jost Vingboons and Simon and Jean de la Vallée. Until 1866 used for the official meetings of the Nobility at the sittings of the Riksdag.

Drottningholm Castle (near Stockholm), built 1662—86 for Queen Hedvig Eleonora by Nicodemus Tessin the elder (b. 1615, d. 1681).

Swedish manorhouse from the seventeenth century: Sturefors in Östergötland, the family seat of the Counts Bielke. Designed by Nicodemus Tessin the elder (b. 1615, d. 1681).

Swedish farmstead from the seventeenth century (from Helsingland).

measure was not carried out in its entirety. Herman Fleming, who directed the work, encountered almost insurmountable difficulties, and after the king's death Fleming's labours were rendered fruitless. The aristocratic regency, which then came into power, showed no zeal to further a scheme which was detrimental to their own interests. This was perhaps not to be wondered at but their short-sightedness was to have unfortunate consequences. They allowed the financial problem to drift, until years afterwards far more drastic measures were necessary to bring about a solution.

The Swedish exchequer was, as we have seen, unable to meet the demands of the new conditions of war and of territorial expansion. But the private purse of many a nobleman was filled to overflowing. The Swedish aristocracy had their most brilliant period during the half century following on the death of Gustavus Adolphus. As the wars were carried on in foreign countries, the peace of the Swedish countryside was never disturbed. Industry and commerce flourished, and Swedish goods were exported and sold at advantageous prices. Many officers and diplomatists made large fortunes abroad thanks to the abnormal conditions, and they generally invested their money in land and commercial undertakings, often purchasing from the Crown large estates in agricultural as well as in mining districts. A large number of private buildings, erected at this time by individual noblemen in Stockholm and in the provinces, bear witness to their great wealth. These monuments of a past glory were described and illustrated by Eric Dahlberg in his remarkable work, *Svecia antiqua et hodierna.*[1]

---

[1] Amongst these may be mentioned *Skokloster* on a peninsula in Lake Mälar, built by Wrangel, also his private house in Stockholm; *Läckö* in Lake Väner, *Makalös* in Stockholm, *Vänngarn* and *Karlberg*, all built by Magnus De la Gardie; *Stjärnorp*, the seat of the Douglas family; *Löfstad* belonging to the Lillies, *Ericsberg* to the

The grand exterior of some of these buildings was occasionally misleading. The dignified walls of the *Palace of the Nobility* sheltered an interior almost distressingly poor and naked. More than one nobleman lived in outward splendour, while he was continuously in debt. Such was the case with Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, who owned very large estates. But these exceptions proved the rule, i. e. that many noble families, especially among the titled nobility, had come into great wealth. The majority of common people also seem to have been fairly comfortably off. The constant grievances as regards poverty and destitution, voiced in the *Riksdag*, must not be taken at their face value. They were intended to furnish the opposition with reasons against the taxation of the government. In this particular opposition all four Estates were only too ready to speak with one voice.

In Sweden as elsewhere the greater wealth of the few caused more rigid division between the different classes in the community. The contrast between the old aristocracy of landowners and the new aristocracy of civil servants has been mentioned earlier and began to be more noticeable about 1650. Fairly numerous in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, the noble civil servants increased very considerably under Christina and Charles X. These rulers made use of many gifted commoners, who had worked their way through government departments until their achievements seemed to entitle them to be raised to noble rank. The old aristocracy looked askance at this new blood, and counts and barons demanded that holders of

Gyllenstjernas; and the town house of the Bondes. The Swedish *grands seigneurs* generally employed foreign architects, especially a Frenchman, Jean de la Vallée, and Nicodemus Tessin (the elder), a native of Pomerania. The latter was chiefly engaged in the service of the dowager queen, Hedvig Eleonora, for whom he designed the castle of *Drottningholm* (*Drottning* = queen). De la Vallée was the principal architect concerned in the building of *Riddarhuset* or the »Palace of the Nobility», on Axel Oxenstjerna's initiative. This palace was opened for use during the minority of the young son of Charles X and was practically completed in 1675.

fiefs should constitute a special class which could not be outvoted by the rest of the nobility and the gentry. At official functions much heartburning was caused by questions of precedence, whether birth or high office should rank the highest. The titled nobility wished to have the exclusive right to hold high office. Christina's decision to give Adler Salvius, a clever diplomatist but a commoner by birth, a seat in the Council gave rise therefore to much indignation. This rivalry was to be particularly important in the future. While the great landowners tended to increase their influence at the expense of the king, it was only natural that the civil servants should find it expedient to uphold and defend royal authority.

To put it briefly: the great successes gained in war were counterbalanced by serious domestic difficulties. In an unfortunate moment the aristocratic regency of Charles XI was left to deal with this delicate situation.

THE CLIMAX AND FALL OF THE BALTIC EMPIRE.

1660—1718.

THE PERIOD which followed the European religious wars was characterized by the political supremacy of France under Louis XIV, whose policy aimed at absorbing the territory of Spain, then in process of rapid disintegration. The immediate ambition of France was Belgium. This caused anxiety both in the Netherlands and in England, and forced these two trade rivals to unite in opposition against France. The aggressive tendencies of Louis XIV were a source of embarrassment also to the German emperor. French politicians had designs on the central Rhine provinces and were using their persuasive diplomacy with individual German princes in order to secure influence in German domestic affairs. Hence the general peace was bound to be short-lived, and the clash of arms was again heard on the European continent. But the wars in the age of Louis XIV, unlike those in the previous epoch, were distinctly political in character.

The position of Sweden in the transition period leading up to this era needs special attention.

In his will, Charles X had appointed a regency for his four-year-old son, Charles XI. This was to consist of the dowager queen, Hedvig Eleonora, and the five most important members of the Council. The regency acting

during Christina's minority served as a model for that of Charles XI, except that the dowager queen was now included and by virtue of her rank presided over the regency. The influence thus reserved for the royal family was further strengthened by the appointment of the younger brother of Charles X as *Riksmarsk* or Minister of War, and Herman Fleming, who had been intimately associated with the late king in carrying out the economic reform, as *Riksskattmästare* or Minister of Finance. But these provisions in the royal will did not meet with the approval of the nobility, to whom the name of Fleming acted like a red rag to a bull. At a Riksdag in Stockholm in the autumn of 1660 the nobility carried their point. The dowager queen was allowed to remain in the regency, but the two posts referred to above were given to other men. The most influential members of the regency were Peter Brahe (*Riksdrots* or Steward), Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (*Rikskansler* or Chancellor) and Gustavus Bonde (*Riksskattmästare* or Minister of Finance).

This regency suffered from serious defects. In the first place its personnel had been changed by political tampering with the royal will, which in itself constituted both a weakness and a serious legal precedent. The executive government became subservient to the nobility which had been the chief instrument in effecting the change. As the nobility was divided into two hostile sections (p. 224) the whole Council was also split up into groups with different aims and interests. Unfortunate as this division was in domestic matters, it became positively harmful with regard to foreign politics, affording the ambassadors of other powers the means of influencing the government in the interests of their particular country. Hence, Swedish foreign affairs suffered from lack of a steadfast policy and the good of the country was not always put first. The most conspic-

uous member of the regency was Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. He was eloquent, well-read, and a keen promoter of art and science.[1] He appeared in public with almost princely splendour but unfortunately had no capacity for living within his own means, nor did he appreciate the necessity for economy in the government. His whole outlook was that of the old-time aristocrat, and like his noble colleagues and friends he was against the economic reform which had been initiated by Charles X, pinning his hopes on lucrative gains to be won by cooperation with France. His aristocratic leanings brought him many antagonists among the higher civil servants and some also among the members of the Council. Although he generally succeeded in silencing the opposition, he sometimes allowed himself to be influenced by his opponents and, conscious of possible recriminations if he were to lose power, he did not always follow a straight course.

In certain respects the regency deserves credit. It was particularly successful in nationalizing the provinces newly acquired from Denmark and of curbing any feelings hostile to Swedish interests. The foundation of the University of Lund in 1668 may be mentioned as one of the most important factors in accomplishing this. But on the whole the foreign policy of the regency was vacillating, while its domestic policy suffered from neglect and bad administration, the army and navy for instance being allowed to deteriorate. When France attacked Belgium in 1667 Sweden ranged herself with England and Holland, and as a result of this triple alliance Louis XIV was forced to sign the peace of Aachen in 1668. By clever manipulation, however, Louis succeeded in winning over both Charles II of England and the Swedish regency. When, therefore, Louis attacked the Nether-

[1] It was he who presented to the University of Uppsala the priceless manuscript of Wulfila's Gothic translation of the Bible, known as *Codex Argenteus*.

lands in 1672, Sweden was obliged to fight on the side of France in the subsequent German war. The regency started this war without counting the cost. Sweden was economically ruined, her army was inefficient and her navy hardly seaworthy.

The consequences were correspondingly unfavourable. At the request of France, Swedish troops invaded Brandenburg (1675), but were driven back with ignominy by the Elector Frederick William. After this reverse Sweden found herself surrounded by enemies on all sides: Brandenburg attacked Pomerania, Lüneburg turned her arms against Bremen, and Denmark sent an expedition to Skåne. The last enemy was the most dangerous, for Denmark had greatly increased her fighting power since 1660, and was straining every nerve to regain the lost provinces. Before long Skåne with the exception of Malmö fort was in the hands of the enemy, and it seemed probable that the other Swedish gains would soon share the same fate. Just then the young King Charles XI stepped in and saved the situation.

In 1672 Charles XI had come of age. His natural diffidence had been accentuated by a neglected education and, conscious of his own awkwardness in dealing with affairs of state, he was glad to let De la Gardie retain his prominent position. But his misfortunes suddenly ripened the youth into a man. He realized the disastrous results of the irresponsible foreign and economic policy pursued by the regency. He found that the army and navy were practically powerless and that inefficiency and hesitancy reigned in every branch of the administration. This evoked his wrath against the regency, but an almost overpowering feeling of despondency kept him inactive. A minor success against the Danes, which he himself directed, roused him out of his stupor, and in John Gyllenstjerna, a member of

the Council, he found the strong and experienced adviser that he so sorely needed. A new spirit began to pervade the Swedish soldiers. After the battles of Lund and Landskrona (1676—1677) the Danish hold on Skåne was broken, and the organized bands of peasants *(Snapphanar)* who had supported the Danes, were punished. Sweden proper was in this way saved, but it was impossible to bring the navy up to proper efficiency in such a short time. Hence her dominions in Germany were left without assistance and lost. Thanks to the resuscitated Swedish army, and to the victories of France, the pre-war boundaries were practically restored by the peace treaties of 1679.

The bitter lessons of the war were of the utmost importance. The aristocratic supremacy had been undermined by the disastrous events. Critics of the regency now dared to make themselves heard openly. They referred to the uncertain legal position of the regency and demanded that its members should be held responsible for their government. The young king alone stood firm in the general *débâcle*, placed in the centre of affairs by his royal prestige and by his successful interference during the darkest hours of the country's distress. He stood there, a severe, lonely figure, isolated from others by his own nervous temperament and by the bitter experiences which had made him suspicious of human nature. The only adviser in whom he had placed implicit confidence, John Gyllenstjerna, died shortly after the restoration of peace. This isolation was a source of strength, for it accentuated Charles's intense feeling of personal responsibility, but it was also a source of weakness, for his ability was onesided and needed the broadening influence of men of greater experience and culture. As it happened, no such counsel was available, and the strong but circumscribed personality of Charles XI was alone to guide the destiny of Sweden.

Charles XI was the essence of orderliness and scrupulous economy. His natural tendencies in this direction had become more pronounced by the hard experiences of the war, when he found where unsound finance had led the country. Once peace was restored, his main endeavour was to bring order into the administration, to put the finances of the Crown on a sound basis and to reorganize the army and navy. In these necessary undertakings he could count on the support of the unprivileged classes, and of the higher civil servants, who resented the overbearing attitude displayed by the landed aristocracy. With the help of these sections he carried in the *Riksdag* of 1680 and of 1682 a number of decisions of revolutionary significance. First of all the regents were asked to render account of their administration and to refund such public money as they had expended without legitimate reason. Further the king was empowered to restore to the Crown such property as had been alienated from the state in times past without any definite time limit. Finally, the Estates made a declaration that the king should have a right to act independently of the Council, which he need summon in the future only at his own pleasure, and that in the matter of legislation he was not bound even to have the approval of the *Riksdag*, though the Estates humbly anticipated that he would submit his proposals to them. These concessions practically implied that Charles had been invested with absolute power: the Council had no longer any real authority though it continued to exist as an aristocratic body. The only means of control which might challenge the king's authority, consisted in the judicial system and in the prerogative of the Estates to sanction emergency taxation. But Charles was soon to become fairly independent of additional revenue, as large sums exacted from the members of the former regency and increased revenue from restored Crown

property were coming in to the exchequer. In a sense the declarations of the Estates implied less the introduction of a new order than the confirmation of the actual state of affairs: when the former government had discredited itself beyond repair, all power in the state reverted to the monarch who alone had found a way out of the difficulties.

The financial position was such that it could be relieved only by the State resuming possession of what had once been Crown property *(Reduktion)*. It had been acknowledged in 1655, when the decision of a partial restitution was carried, that the legal possession by the nobility of this Crown property and revenue was disputable, and therefore the nobility had endeavoured to secure a guarantee against possible future demands of the Crown. This guarantee was now refuted by the authorities which had agreed to it in 1655, i. e. the king and the *Riksdag*.. Perhaps the most serious and important feature of this change was its effect on legal security, which was seriously threatened by the manner in which the transactions on behalf of the Crown were carried out. In a number of cases the estates and the right to collect revenue had passed from one owner to another by sale or inheritance. When therefore the demands of the Crown were insisted on, a number of legal agreements were made null and void and the adjustments in respect of the ultimate loss were often arbitrary. Moreover, the king prevailed on the *Riksdag* of 1686 to agree that the State should resume possession also of such property as had been sold or mortgaged — against some kind of indemnity, it is true, but in open violation of the original terms of the sale. The agents of the Crown acted generally with all the shortsightedness characteristic of the rule of Charles XI: all private considerations must give way before the right of the Crown. The income of the State increased

enormously, but the security of private ownership was undermined. Nobody knew what he actually possessed, the respect for promises and agreements was fast disappearing, and it was almost impossible for anyone to believe in the good faith of the government.

The economic reform and the harsh treatment of the members of the regency put an end to the supremacy of the Swedish nobility. The counts and barons were the first to be dispossessed of their large fiefs, and as their families were the most hardly hit financially by the indemnity demanded from the individual members of the former regency, the old nobility was practically ruined. It was no doubt an advantage to the country that the influence of the old aristocratic families was broken, and that their authority in the provinces, where they ruled almost like princes, was swept away. But apart from the individual suffering and perhaps also the unnecessary bitterness caused by official zeal, there was a serious dislocation in the continuity of government. Members of the old nobility had long considered their holding of high office more as a duty than as a right, and had never grudged their services. They now found themselves suspected by the king for wishing to encroach on his power, envied and attacked by those civil servants who did not belong to the old nobility, severely punished for an administration which might justifiably be called careless but not intentionally neglectful, and last but not least threatened as regards their economic existence. Having been so ungenerously rewarded for their public work, it is not surprising that the majority of them retired into private life. The country may not therefore have lost any particularly brilliant coming statesmen, but it was deprived of the tradition of public service which had been built up by several generations of noblemen, and which those who were to replace them did not possess.

The high officials appointed by Charles XI belonged generally to the new nobility. They depended on the salary attached to their office, and were therefore anxious to do the king's bidding. It is perhaps unfair to speak of time-servers and flatterers, for it was the sincere ambition of Charles XI to hold aloof from such persons. He was, however, too narrow in his outlook and had too little intercourse with other people to be a good judge of men; hence his choice of subordinates was not always fortunate. Able administrators who promptly carried out his orders managed often to gain the confidence of the king to such an extent that he gave them more rope than they deserved. They were not above enriching themselves when opportunity offered, and their relations to the king were such that they could hardly be expected to criticize his wishes and intentions in the way that the old aristocracy with all due deference to the sovereign might have done.

That criticism was silenced before the king was the more unfortunate as his power increased. Charles XI retained the gloomy impressions of the first years of his reign, when almost everything went wrong where he did not interfere. He felt therefore compelled to go into every detail of administration himself. His incessant labours no less than the physical hardships to which he — regardless of his own comfort — exposed himself during his long and rapid rides through the country, hastened no doubt the progress of the malignant disease which prematurely broke down his health. In the government Charles always saw his own will carried out, and he failed to invite the opinions of other men of integrity and of wider experience than he possessed himself. Some departments of the administration suffered more than others from Charles's lack of vision. But he brought order into the finances of the country. Not content with restoring former sources of

revenue to the State, he tried to ensure that these should also in the future be at the disposal of the Crown. After having budgeted very carefully for the expenditure of each branch of the administration, he assigned a definite part of the revenue for defraying these separate expenses; and to a large number of Crown officials he allocated estates for their maintenance. He thought out an excellent scheme for laying a secure financial basis — as far as the old-fashioned economic organization of the country permitted — for an effective administration. By careful supervision he wished to encourage prompt and conscientious work and to save the country from bad management and underhand dealings. The result was also a far more businesslike administration than formerly.

In reorganizing Sweden's defence, Charles adhered to the recognized custom for each province to raise one or two regiments. The officers, in the same way as many civil servants, should receive their maintenance from a farm or a larger estate which they occupied and from fixed taxes due to the Crown, while the soldiers should be recruited and maintained by private landowners. In addition to these standing regiments the king kept mercenary troops, especially for garrison duty in the fortresses and for service in the dominions on the continent. A reliable army was thus set up, but its efficiency in time of war was somewhat uncertain, as the soldier spent his life as a farmer in times of peace and had little training in his martial duties. An extensive line of good fortresses was intended to defend the most exposed provinces against attack. The navy was enlarged, most of the ships being rebuilt, and an excellent naval base was founded in Karlskrona, where the archipelago of south-eastern Blekinge provided a natural harbour. As far as was humanly possible Charles XI endeavoured to safeguard the future of Sweden by creating

this strong defence and well organized administration. His hopes promised to be fulfilled, the more so as the staple industries had made good progress during his peaceful reign, and the prosperity of the population was increasing.

There were, however, weak points in this seemingly healthy development. The harsh treatment of the land-owning nobility in the name of justice was bound to cause discontent. Unfriendly neighbours speculated with satisfaction on such discontent, hoping for possibilities of revolt which would upset the country. In Sweden there was no real danger of disaffection, but it might be feared in Esthonia and Livonia, where Charles had allowed his officials to claim state ownership of such estates as had come into the possession of the nobility long before these provinces became Swedish dominions. This high-handed procedure, which regarded the Swedish Crown as the inheritor of previous governments as far back as the Teutonic Knights, and which applied Swedish law and decisions of the Swedish *Riksdag* in provinces with other traditions and with a different legal system, might well be challenged. The Livonian nobility, indeed, remonstrated against the actions of the Swedish government, but their spokesman, John Reinhold Patkul, used such violent language that Charles had him brought before a court of law. Patkul was sentenced to death for high treason, but succeeded in escaping from Stockholm to the continent. He procured from German lawyers documents in support of the legal rights of himself and of his Livonian compeers. And he was not content to leave it at that. He visited secretly several courts where he expected to find hostile intentions towards Sweden, holding out hopes of insurrection, at least in Livonia, in the event of these powers attacking Sweden. Though this was an exaggeration, Baltic loyalty was undoubtedly somewhat undermined, and the bitter agitation

of Patkul found a hearing by various foreigners. The consequences of this secret plotting were to be disastrous when the foreign policy of Charles XI brought Sweden into conflict with Denmark.

Charles was less fitted to handle foreign affairs than any other business of state. His want of education and his forbidding manner made it difficult for him to have intercourse with foreign ambassadors. The irresponsible policy which had landed Sweden in a disastrous war, made him almost adverse to any foreign alliance. Gyllenstjerna had happily supplemented this onesidedness of the king. In connection with the peace treaty he won Charles over to a daring idea, which if followed up, might have materially altered the destinies of the Scandinavian countries. Gyllenstjerna shared Charles's horror of political corruption and sought a future guarantee against foreign influence by creating intimate cooperation between Sweden and Denmark. Immediately after the treaty of peace, the two powers concluded an alliance, and agreed to pursue a common foreign policy. As a token of this friendship, which was to supplant the enmity of former ages, Charles XI married the sister of the Danish king, the Princess Ulrica Eleonora. There were however serious obstacles in the way of this better understanding, for neither country trusted the other, and Gyllenstjerna, the only man who might have inspired such confidence, passed away shortly after peace had been signed. After his death Charles had no counsellor in whom he fully confided. His minister for foreign affairs, Bengt Oxenstjerna, merely executed the king's behests. Charles did not escape being influenced by others, however, and he took the strongest impressions from his mother, the dowager queen, who was filled with intense hatred of Denmark, innate in the whole House of Holstein-Gottorp. The close cooperation between Denmark and Sweden therefore

never came about, and the two neighbours continued to regard each other as secret or even open antagonists.

With his taste for orderly procedure, Charles endeavoured to build up a permanent system for Swedish foreign affairs as he had done for her domestic administration. His aim was to maintain peace, and to achieve this aim by holding Denmark in check, for he did not anticipate danger from other neighbours. He was anxious to be on friendly terms with the dukes of Holstein-Gottorp and of Lüneburg, whose territories lay near the Danish borders. The latter had just been made elector of Hanover and the duke of Holstein, who was Charles's uncle, could always count on the powerful support of Sweden in his conflicts with the Danish king about their complicated claims on Holstein and Slesvig. But Charles's staunch support of Holstein-Gottorp, which was indeed the corner-stone in his foreign policy, might easily entice the duke to be unduly defiant. The Danish government felt compelled to use counter measures in order to weaken or cut through the ring.

While Charles XI tried to work for peace in his immediate neighbourhood, he naturally did not wish to embark on bellicose adventures with more distant powers. French politics had all along been suspect to him, and the more Louis XIV showed his aggressive intentions, the more forbidding was Charles's attitude to his friendly overtures. Charles desired both to curb the threatened supremacy of France and to improve Swedish foreign trade, which was on the increase with the Netherlands and England. Hence he was brought into contact with William of Orange and the two maritime powers. In 1681 he made an agreement with the Netherlands (the so-called guarantee-treaty of the Hague), intended to uphold the anti-French peace-treaties and to afford mutual support. These relations became firmer when William was made king of England by the revolution of

Charles XI (King 1660—97).

Portrait by David Klöker Ehrenstrahl.

GENERALSTABENS LITOGR ANSTALT

Map of the Swedish Baltic Empire after the death of Charles Gustavus in 1660.

1688—89. In the war which then broke out between France on the one hand and England, the Netherlands and the German emperor on the other, Sweden was by treaty obligations supposed to assist the allies with reinforcements. But in this respect she did not fulfil her obligations. The stern measures of the maritime powers against neutral shipping hit both Sweden and Denmark, and the two Scandinavian countries agreed (1691) to cooperate in armed neutrality in order to convoy their merchant ships in safety. This alliance, which in the future showed the way to similar enterprise in the interests of neutral commerce, induced England and the Netherlands to resort to less drastic methods and to recognize demands for retribution. These disputes gave Charles a pretext for withholding, year after year, the promised assistance. Louis gleaned from this attitude some hope for winning Charles over to his side. He sent over diplomatic missions which in the interest of France made clever use of the trade dispute. But once this was settled, Charles adhered firmly to his neutral policy. When the belligerent powers opened peace negotiations in Rijswijk, Sweden was invited to mediate. As the most important questions were decided by direct discussion between the powers, the honour of being mediator was but small. But Sweden's good relations with the maritime powers were thereby strengthened.

The rôle of mediator at the general peace conference, surrounded as it was with outward pomp, but in reality of small significance, does not badly represent Sweden's position towards the end of Charles XI's reign. In every way his policy had been successful and apparently showed splendid results. At the close of his reign Swedish finance was sound, the administration effective, defence well organized, and industry flourishing. In his kingdom Charles ruled with an authority that no Swedish king before him

had possessed. Foreign powers showed him a respect which is always evoked by strength, especially when combined with a sincere endeavour to maintain peace and friendly relations. But was Sweden as strong as she appeared? That the old aristocracy had been ruined and deprived of their political influence without being replaced by worthy successors was under any circumstance a weakness. It was deplorable that personal initiative and integrity had been largely killed by petty officialism. If Sweden once more should be placed in a perilous situation demanding the pooling of all individual resources, it might easily be found that the former capacity for cooperation no longer existed. Such a situation was a possibility, indeed it was brought dangerously near by the policy which Charles had adopted in order to preserve the peace. During the last months of Charles's reign Denmark was approaching Russia with a view to concluding an offensive alliance against Sweden. In the same year the Elector Augustus of Saxony was made King of Poland, whereby a personal element of the most hazardous type was thrust into the politics of northern Europe.

Taxed beyond endurance by his untiring labours, Charles XI was taken ill and died in April, 1697, at a moment when Sweden was threatened by grave political dangers. He was succeeded by his only son, the famous warrior king, Charles XII.

* *
*

Among a number of remarkable Swedish kings Charles XII stands out as the most original: favoured as few have been by success, dogged by misfortune, but in good as in evil days equally unbending, as Tegnér writes, always »the master of his fortune». It may be of interest to quote Doctor Johnson, who said: »Were Socrates and Charles

the Twelfth of Sweden both present in any company, and Socrates to say, »Follow me, and hear a lecture on philosophy»; and Charles, laying his hand on his sword, to say: »Follow me, and dethrone the tsar»; a man would be ashamed to follow Socrates... the profession of soldiers and sailors has the dignity of danger. Mankind reverence those who have got over fear, which is so general a weakness.»

The characteristic traits of Charles XII have been drawn out of perspective by both contemporary and later historians, and this has made him appear bizarre and unreal, as if he were standing apart from the conditions which demanded, and also explained his actions.

At the death of Charles XI his only son was not yet fifteen years old. Conscious of his own neglected education, Charles XI had done everything in his power to prepare the prince for his future duties. He allowed him early to be his companion, hardening him with fatigue and exposure during the long daring rides on horseback and the wild hunting expeditions which he loved. The young prince took after his father in many things. He had the same stubborn will, the same untiring energy. He had also his father's reserved temperament, probably due to a nervousness which he never quite mastered. Charles XII's nature, however, was deep and many-sided compared with that of his father. Whether this was a result of his better education is difficult to say. With his unflinching devotion to duty he also combined traits of personal gentleness which he probably inherited from his mother.

It had been the intention of Charles XI that his son should be subject to a regency for a few years, while he acquired experience in administration. But the regency was short-lived, for when the Estates met in the autumn of 1697, to attend the royal funeral, the nobility urged that the young king should immediately be declared to be of age. The

other Estates concurred, and before the end of the year Charles XII took over the government and was crowned. The nobility had hoped to invoke the king's favour by their proposal and that in return he would lessen the rigour of the economic reform. But their hope was not fulfilled. Charles felt bound to uphold and continue the work of his father, for whose memory he had a deep reverence. He chose as his chief adviser the man who had been so employed by the late king, Charles Piper, a high official belonging to the new aristocracy and with both its merits and its defects. The old régime was thus continued during the reign of the new king. Of changes or disturbances hoped for abroad nothing was heard. When Charles XI lay in state in the Royal Palace at Stockholm, a terrible fire broke out which practically destroyed the old castle. Some people saw in this catastrophe the work of suppressed discontent and signs of imminent revolt. But there were no hidden dangers in the country, they all came from abroad.

At first everything promised well. Sweden and her young king were eagerly sought after with a view to political or matrimonial alliances. Ambassadors arrived with portraits of marriageable princesses, and it went so far that dowagers accompanied by grown-up daughters found their way to Stockholm, where they tried to entrap the shy monarch, who, however, generally escaped to some wild hunting expedition. These numerous offers of marriage frightened Charles from entertaining any matrimonial desires during the peaceful years of his reign, and when once war had begun he had no time for such considerations. Politically also, Charles endeavoured to follow in his father's footsteps. France and the two naval powers were all speculating on how they could best divide the forthcoming Spanish inheritance, and both sides were anxious for an alliance with Sweden. The secret intrigues that had been going on during

the reign of Charles XI were revived. Charles XII ranged himself with England and the Netherlands, and concluded also a treaty with Holstein-Gottorp, marrying his elder sister Hedvig Sophia to Duke Frederick. This was looked upon with apprehension by Frederick IV of Denmark, who was anxious to subdue the arrogance of the Duke of Holstein, undoubtedly encouraged by Swedish support. Frederick IV had worked for a Danish-German coalition while Charles XI was still alive, and the latest news from Stockholm encouraged him to pursue this object with greater determination. He soon found, however, that there was no need for him to seek allies against Sweden, he was himself sought after for this purpose.

When Augustus of Saxony was elected king of Poland the most adventurous political busybodies in Europe settled themselves in northern Europe. Augustus had a great idea of playing the rôle of a Polish *Roi Soleil,* and aimed at creating a strong position for himself and his dynasty, Poland and Saxony constituting the nucleus of such a power. His election in Poland had not been unchallenged, and he made sure of the throne only by a quick military *coup.* In order to be something more than a shuttlecock driven here and there by rival parties in the rapidly disintegrating country, he had to rely on his Saxon troops. The Polish aristocrats, however, made eager representations about the danger to the »liberty» of their country. Augustus was therefore looking round for some plausible reason for maintaining his army, when Patkul arrived with his schemes of depriving Sweden of the Baltic provinces. According to Patkul this would be an easy thing, for the population was ready to greet the king as their liberator from Swedish tyranny. Sweden's resistance should be broken by a simultaneous attack from other powers. Denmark was to invade Skåne and Holstein, Brandenburg was to overrun Swedish

Pomerania, and Russia's attack was to be directed against Sweden's eastern dominions. The scheme of Patkul appealed to Augustus. It gave promise of great reward without much effort. His secret agents, among whom Patkul henceforth was one, were diligently at work during the years 1698 and 1699, preparing a coalition against Sweden. In the summer of 1698, Augustus met Peter the Great of Russia in the Galician castle of Rava, and discussed with him more detailed plans of attack, evolving schemes of amazing temerity for the future. An alliance was concluded between them — as sincere as was possible between two such scheming politicians.

Tsar Peter was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable rulers of his age, but it may be asserted that posterity has given him more credit as a pioneer of civilization than he really deserves. Russia has always appreciated the value of self-advertisement and has traded on the ignorance of western European nations regarding conditions actually obtaining there. Peter the Great had undoubtedly both the will and the ability to rule. He could show himself generous and even magnanimous, but was at heart a barbarian among barbarians, cowardly, false, violent and even cruel. He recognized that his own position in the colossal empire and in the eyes of other nations demanded a thorough reorganization of the old Muscovite institutions. Hence he strove to learn and take advantage from the experience of West-European countries, introducing their technique in military and civil administration. He understood how to impress foreigners by a truly eastern magnificence, or to astonish and charm them by genuine Russian unconventionality in his manners. His foreign politics were not original, but a continuation of the traditional régime of his predecessors, attempting to weaken the neighbouring states of Turkey, Poland, Sweden, and to expand Russia at their

cost. As his early designs on Turkey did not meet with success, he listened with alacrity to the suggestions of the Polish and Danish kings regarding a concerted attack on Sweden.

In 1699 definite agreements were reached between the three powers, but the fourth that Patkul wished to rope in, Brandenburg, held aloof. In spite of coveting Swedish Pomerania, the elector, who shortly afterwards assumed the title of King of Prussia, did not dare to venture a break with such a strong military power as Sweden, and preferred to wait and see. It was arranged that in January 1700 Augustus was to overrun Livonia and capture Riga, being supported by the inhabitants in his manoeuvres. A Danish army was to invade Holstein-Gottorp and thence proceed to Sweden, while the Russians were to advance on Ingria. The results of these pre-arranged attacks were not great. Augustus made a fruitless attack on Riga, and his further attempts to conquer Livonia were not much more successful. The Tsar was not ready with his preparations at the proper time, and broke into Ingria in the autumn, just when Augustus was retreating from his somewhat inglorious campaign. Denmark concluded peace almost before the war had actually begun.

The position was this. As the question of the Spanish succession was becoming more acute, and the antagonism between Louis XIV and William of Orange grew in intensity, the latter was very anxious to prevent other European conflicts. His ambassador to Denmark was instructed to make representations in Copenhagen in the interests of peace, and naval squadrons were sent to the Sound to give increased weight to these discussions. But Charles XII himself forced a speedy decision. Under his command, a Swedish landing was effected on Sjaelland, somewhat north of Copenhagen. King Frederick submitted, agreed to the condit-

ions demanded for Holstein-Gottorp, and withdrew from the alliance against Sweden.

The unexpected attack drove Charles XII from his youthful pleasures. He began to busy himself with more serious matters, and soon mastered the military machinery. In the operations against Denmark he revealed a sure eye for the weakest points of the enemy and a determination far beyond his years.

When peace with Denmark had been signed, Charles hastened to relieve the Baltic provinces, where Augustus threatened Livonia, and Peter was besieging Narva with a large army. In September 1700 Charles crossed with a transport of troops to Livonia in order to meet Augustus. But as the king of Poland had then left the province, Charles decided to assist Narva. The Swedish forces amounted to some 10,000 men, under command of the king, with field-marshal Rehnsköld as his chief adviser. It is difficult to ascertain the actual numbers of the Russian army, but it was probably about 80,000 strong, though a large portion both in equipment and training were much below the standards of western soldiers. The Russian troops which took active part in the ensuing battle have by later Russian authors been estimated at 35,000 which clearly is the minimum figure. The Tsar who left the responsibility of command to others, himself having a nominal subordinate rank, did not dare to remain when the Swedes were approaching, but hurried back to Russia.

After an exhausting march with a number of minor engagements, in which the Swedes had the upper hand, Charles arrived in the vicinity of Narva, and seeing the extensive positions of the besieging army he decided to attack immediately. The advance was probably organized by Rehnsköld, but in close consultation with the king. The tactical methods of the latter may be discerned in this battle

(on the 20th of November 1700), the first real engagement which he directed. He quickly discerned the weakest spot of the enemy's lines, and hurled his troops against this point. The Russian position was broken, and large portions of their army were cut off and taken prisoners. It was the most crushing defeat imaginable. Charles followed up his victory by advancing against the Polish army (1701), crossed the Dvina in the sight of the enemy and defeated Augustus's army in the field. Shortly afterwards he occupied Courland.

The rapid and complete success of Charles's campaign turned all Europe's eyes on him. The war of the Spanish succession broke out in 1701, and France was anxious to win over the victorius Swedish hero to her side. The naval powers on the other hand were equally determined to avoid a combination of the eastern and western wars. Charles himself considered that he must settle with Poland and Russia, and was therefore unwilling to listen either to overtures which would give these enemies an easy and uncertain peace or to invitations to take part in the quarrels of western Europe. What his ultimate intentions were he never disclosed, but his main policy may be reconstructed from his actions.

The East-European countries were at this time passing through a period of rapid change. The process of Polish disintegration, begun with the Cossack revolutions, was developing towards the closing catastrophe, the divisions of 1772—1795. Russia was becoming more and more aggressively expansive. Turkey was steadily deteriorating and was forced back behind her borders. Charles XII regarded it as his and Sweden's special interest to crush the power of the intriguing Augustus and to repulse the Russian attacks on Swedish territory. Both these interests seemed to him best served by a campaign in Poland—Lithuania. It was difficult to close in on Russia from Ingria and Livonia,

but as far as Tsar Peter ventured to give Augustus active support he might be exposed to the Swedish guns. The attack on Sweden, moreover, had not been made by Poland proper, but by Augustus and his Saxon army. After his defeat, the Poles made it known that they had no wish to go to war with Sweden, but departed in this from the policy of their king. Charles invited them to depose Augustus and join the Swedish army, thus showing their intentions not only in word but in deed. This request met with considerable approval, for there had been much opposition to Augustus, and a party, hostile to the Saxon elector, was formed, which made common cause with Charles. It did not materially strenghten his forces, but undoubtedly weakened the other side.

To follow the episodes of the war in detail would carry us too far. In 1702 Charles invaded Poland, occupied Warsaw and won a decisive victory over Augustus at Kliszow. He continued his successful campaigns in the two following years, and prevailed on the Poles to depose Augustus and elect in his stead a Polish aristocrat, Stanislav Leszczynski. Aided by his Saxon troops and Russian reinforcements, Augustus was nevertheless able to hold his own in certain parts of the country. When the Swedish army approached, he usually managed to fall back in time to avoid a battle. Charles must have understood fairly soon that he could not strike a decisive blow at Augustus in Poland, but that he must proceed to Saxony, where his antagonist collected his chief resources. Consideration for England and the Netherlands alone kept him out of Saxony, as an attack there might have aroused consternation in Germany, which would have been an advantage to France. After the French had been beaten at Hochstadt-Blenheim and Ramillies, however, no such fears need be entertained. During a hazardous winter campaign Charles chased the Russian auxiliaries be-

fore him through the morasses round Pripetz, and afterwards swung round, marching through Poland and Silesia into Saxony, which he entered in August 1706. Unable to resist his attack, the Saxon government concluded the peace of Altranstädt, in September 1706. Augustus was pledged by this treaty to renounce the Polish crown and withdraw from the coalition with Russia.

* *
*

Charles remained in Altranstädt about a year, engaged in strengthening his army and filling up the gaps ready for his next big move. He was there exposed to pressure of varied nature. Louis XIV was hopeful that Charles would direct his arms against western Europe, especially as he had come into conflict with the emperor who had allowed a Russian auxiliary force to escape into Austrian territory. The danger seemed of such moment to the allies arrayed against France that Marlborough himself travelled to Altranstädt in order to confer with the Swedish king. As soon as Marlborough felt convinced that Charles had no intention of letting Sweden be the handmaid of France, he brought about a reconciliation between Charles and the emperor by the agency of English diplomacy in Vienna. When this had been accomplished, Charles moved his army from Saxony in the autumn of 1707. He returned through Silesia to Poland, and during this march Patkul, who had been delivered up to him by the treaty of Altranstädt, was by his order executed for treason.

Charles was now prepared to give Tsar Peter the staggering blow which he had escaped ever since the battle of Narva. Peter had been sedulously engaged in bringing his defences up to date. By sending large forces to the support of Augustus he kept the war alive, and by repeated attacks

on the Baltic provinces he got a footing at the mouth of the Neva, where in spite of unfavourable conditions he founded (1703) a city which he called St. Petersburg. A few years later he captured also the principal fortresses. Charles regarded Balticum as of only secondary importance from a strategical point of view. The decisive battles must be fought elsewhere, and he therefore contented himself with an energetic defence of Riga, the largest Baltic port, and of Courland, which was of great importance for the communication between Sweden and Poland. He was now aiming a blow at the heart of Russia.

Tsar Peter's danger was serious enough. The Don Cossacks were in revolt, and those living by the Dnieper were never very reliable. The sultan of Turkey and his vassal, the *khan* of the Crimean peninsula, were always ready to take up the cudgels against the Muscovite power. A decisive Swedish victory would therefore set Peter's throne tottering. Both he and Charles were aware of this. Peter endeavoured therefore to gain time, to avoid open battles, and to hinder the advance of the Swedes by blocking the fords of the rivers in Poland and Lithuania. Charles was not going to waste his strength on skirmishes, and during the approach of winter brought his army through difficult country to Vilna, where he halted (1708) to wait for the return of summer. This clever feat forced the Russians to abandon Poland and look after their own country.

When Charles after a few months' rest marched from Vilna, his goal was Moscow. He steered eastwards to Mohilev on the Dnieper, where general Lewenhaupt, Riga's commandant, was due to meet him with fresh forces and large supplies. The tsar brought up large army corps to defend the main roads, but they also avoided battle and confined themselves to devastating the country all round in order to deprive the enemy of the means of finding

provisions. After a brilliant success at Holovczyn Charles penetrated from Mohilev towards Smolensk, but found it impossible — as the autumn was approaching — to push on the advance sufficiently in the teeth of more effective resistance and increasing shortage of supplies. He decided therefore to turn towards the south, go into winter quarters in the Ukraine and postpone the attack on Moscow till the following year.

Charles received an invitation to the Ukraine from Mazepa, the chief of the Dnieper Cossacks, who found the moment opportune for revolting against the tsar and creating an independent state. But Peter had been secretly informed of Mazepa's plans, and was in time to send down troops to prevent their fulfilment. The majority of the Cossacks deserted their chief, who reached the Swedish army as a fugitive with a small number of loyal supporters. Thus the Swedes found themselves surrounded by enemies instead of friends when they settled in their winter quarters. Nor was this their only disappointment. Lewenhaupt's advance from Courland had been so slow that he had not arrived when the main army turned south. He was caught up by the Russians, and, although he beat back their attack at Ljesna, he was forced to sacrifice large supplies, and reached the king's winter quarters with a sadly depleted army. On the top of this followed the exceptionally hard winter of 1708—1709, probably the most severe during the last three centuries. The Swedish officers and men suffered terribly from cold and deprivations. Charles himself shared their hardships, inspiring them by his example to hold out.

In spite of all this, Charles was looking forward to the summer campaign with undaunted courage. He ordered Swedish troops, which had been left behind in Poland, to march through Kiev and join him, and he also encouraged the Tatars in the Crimea to raise against the tsar. Fully

conscious of the dangerous position, Tsar Peter approached but reluctantly with his army. In order to tempt the enemy out into the open, Charles started to besiege Poltava on the Vorskla, a tributary of the Dnieper. Peter moved nearer and placed his army, forty to fifty thousand strong, in a fortified position north of Poltava. Charles decided to attack with his seventeen thousand. During the preparations his foot was badly wounded, so that he could not himself take the lead. Rehnsköld, his second-in-command, did not act with his usual power of initiative, the operations were disorganized and the Swedish attack was beaten off with great loss in dead and wounded (the 28th of June, 1709). Charles Piper and Rehnsköld were among the many who were taken prisoners.

Though broken down by the ill effects of his wound, Charles was now forced to take command. He marched south, in order to escape from the enemy and find a way to the Tatars. In the angle produced by the Dnieper and the Vorskla, his generals advised him eagerly to cross the Dnieper before the rest of the army. Worn out by exertions and by wound fever, Charles was persuaded to cross the Dnieper with a few hundred men. Leaving orders for the rest of the army to follow, he hastened to Turkish territory in order to make preparations for a Swedish camp. He hoped eventually to resume the Russian war with Turkish assistance. But once Charles was absent, the morale of the troops broke down. Lewenhaupt, who was in charge of the retreat, lost his head. On the approach of Russian cavalry he was persuaded that he was surrounded by the enemy and that the situation was hopeless. On the 1st of July he made a disgraceful surrender with the whole of the remaining army under his command. The majority of the officers and men were kept in Russia as prisoners under very hard conditions until the end of the war.

In Sweden Charles XII has been seriously criticized for these events. He undoubtedly trusted too much in the power of his own magnetic personality to command the loyalty of his subordinates, and was too ready to stake all on one card. Tsar Peter, who never hid his admiration for his formidable opponent, characterized him later on in the following words: »I believe that from the beginning of the world, there has never been so perfect a man and hero as brother Charles; though he was therefore not the happiest of men, for he was too great to reign over people. As he possessed more than normal courage, he believed that all who served him should possess the same, but in this he was mostly disappointed. He wished that all should act honourably without danger of punishment, thinking that they would follow his example; but such hopes proved often futile. Because he was faithful and honest, he thought that everybody should be so; but he was often cheated both by his neighbours and his subjects. When he gave a promise he kept it, should it cost him even his crown, kingdom and life; and to this his neighbours did not always respond. Therefore that man succeeds better in reigning over others who is himself conscious of human limitations.«

Charles does not seem to have realized that the long marches, the campaigns in foreign countries while communication with Sweden became more and more difficult and sometimes impossible, the increasing resistance of the enemy on every side — all this must in the long run weaken even the best army both physically and morally. In one way he was undone by his own strength.

The struggle was not yet over, however. Charles's endeavours to kindle the fighting spirit of Tatars and Turks were not in vain, and during the years that he spent in Bender with a few hundred loyal Swedes, he was the centre of an energetic political campaign against Tsar Peter. It was

unfortunate that Charles no longer possessed an army around which he could concentrate the Turkish forces ready to attack Tsar Peter. In 1711 the Tsar was actually surrounded by a large Turkish army, and entirely at their mercy, but he bought himself out of the net at an easy price. Charles continued, however, to work for the success of his policy at Constantinople, but was eventually brought into such sharp opposition to leading Turkish politicians, that he was made a prisoner and brought from Bender to Adrianople where he was confined. Augustus of Saxony agitated in Constantinople that Charles should be expelled from Turkey and so be caught by his enemies, but the proud dignity of Charles so impressed the Turks that he was allowed to choose his own time and his own route for the return journey.

His presence in his own country from which he had been so long absent, was greatly needed. After the defeat at Poltava in 1709 the dangers threatened from all quarters. The Poles returned to their loyalty to Augustus and dethroned Stanislav Leszczynski — not to their own advantage, for Augustus became entirely dependent on Russia and introduced into Poland Russian influence, which was to be so disastrous in the future. The Baltic provinces and later on Finland were overrun by Russian troops. Denmark broke her treaty of peace and landed an army in Skåne. Prussia and Hanover were still reluctant, but showed themselves inclined to join Sweden's enemies. At this difficult juncture the results of the autocratic rule of Charles XI became evident. When the urgent need arose of reorganizing the army and navy and of defending the country against invading enemies, the Council lacked sufficient initiative. So far, they had managed during the king's absence in an easy-going manner, but it is not surprising that after what had passed in the reign of Charles XI they hesitated and even lacked the

Charles XII (King 1697—1718).

Portrait by D. von Krafft.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Statesmen and Generals from the Reign of Charles XII.

1. Field-marshal Count Magnus Stenbock (b. 1663, d. 1717). Portrait by D. Schwartz. 2. Field-marshal Count Charles Gustavus Rehnsköld (b. 1651, d. 1722). Contemporary portrait. 3. Count Charles Piper, Cabinet Minister (b. 1647, d. 1716). Engraving. 4. Baron G. H. von Görtz (b. 1668, d. 1719). Engraving.

capacity to embark on a bold and independent policy. They were undoubtedly far more zealous in informing the king about the difficult straits of the country than in shouldering the responsibility of staving off the danger. One exception was General Magnus Stenbock, who commanded the forces in Skåne. With undaunted courage Stenbock quickly raised an army with which he defeated the Danes at Helsingborg (February 1710) and drove them out of Skåne. After this successful campaign he completed the equipment of his troops and sailed across to Swedish Pomerania, intending to obey the king's orders and march across Poland to meet him. Compared with Stenbock's pluck, the inactivity of the Council was indeed pitiful.

Stenbock's plan of meeting the king on his return journey was found to be impracticable. Strong forces of Danes, Russians and Saxons were blocking the way, and he decided to fall back on the territory of Holstein-Gottorp. Pressed by his enemies, he retreated behind the walls of Tœnning, but was in the end forced to surrender (1713). When the Spanish War of Succession was over, several princes were able to withdraw their troops from western Europe, and in consequence of this both Prussia and Hanover joined the enemies of Sweden.

When Charles realized that his country was in real danger and also that he could expect no further help from Turkey, he decided, in spite of enemy designs on his person, to undertake the hazardous ride across Europe to Pomerania. He started in the autumn of 1714 from the neighbourhood of Adrianople with a couple of hundred Swedes. In Hungary he separated from his escort, and rode with two companions, dressed as a courier who was sent to order horses and quarters for the king of Sweden. He rode with extraordinary speed. On the 27th of October he left Pitesti on the border of Transylvania, passed Vienna, Passau, Nurem-

berg, Cassel, and arrived on the 10th of November in Stralsund, the last stronghold on the German mainland which was still in Swedish hands.

The return of the king was soon apparent by various energetic and partly successful manoeuvres, and the struggle for Stralsund and Rügen was accordingly prolonged until late in the autumn of 1715. The situation was then hopeless, but Charles remained in Stralsund until a few days before it was obliged to surrender. He crossed over to Sweden in a small ship, evading both the storms and the Danish navy. He made Lund his headquarters, in order to be nearer the theatre of war. He organized effective measures of defence, ignoring the Council in Stockholm more and more, and giving his confidence instead to the Baron von Görtz, formerly in the service of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

Görtz was in many ways the very opposite of the king. In all his dealings Charles was scrupulously straight and honest, whereas Görtz used his shrewd judgment of men and politics quite unembarrassed by any scruples. What Charles lacked in diplomatic suppleness Görtz possessed in a marked degree, and supplemented no doubt certain obvious failings of the king. Görtz moreover was a man who never hesitated in his decisions, and was never frightened by the seemingly insurmountable obstacles in his way — and these characteristics appealed to Charles all the more because his own Council was constantly undecided and procrastinating. How much Charles actually relied on Görtz is difficult to gauge, he certainly found him an admirable tool. All important matters, as regards both foreign and domestic policy, passed through the hands of Görtz, and the Swedish people were therefore tempted to regard him as mainly responsible for the government during the next few years.

The position of Sweden at that time seemed almost desper-

ate. All her possessions across the Baltic were lost, both in the east and in the south. In addition to her three original enemies, Russia, Poland and Denmark, two others had been added, i. e. Prussia and Hanover. As the Elector of Hanover was also (as George I) King of England, Swedish relations with the latter country were somewhat strained. The policy of interfering with all navigation in enemy ports, which Charles had proclaimed, irritated the English government, but it did not come to a real break between England and Sweden, though practically all Swedish export trade came to a standstill. This again caused grave dislocation in Swedish business life. Supplies of foreign commodities became irregular, and many Swedish homes, especially in industrial and mining areas, began to suffer want.

In spite of the threatening dangers, however, the situation was not without hope. Sweden herself had been saved from enemy attacks up till 1709, and even after that time they had been repulsed. The Swedish people had not yet come to the end of their tether, and the strength of the enemy was in reality not so formidable as it seemed at first sight. Poland-Saxony was a negligeable quantity, for Augustus was too much embarrassed by the instability of his throne to be able to carry on the war effectively. The king of Prussia was eager enough to add Pomerania to his dominions, and the elector of Hanover greatly desired to acquire Bremen, but neither was prepared to carry the war outside the territory which they had already occupied. The Elector of Hanover came into such violent conflict with Tsar Peter that both were prepared to thwart each other to the utmost. Denmark was exhausted by the long war, and as the Danish king no longer dared hope to conquer any Swedish provinces, he concentrated his attacks on Holstein-Gottorp. The only dangerous enemy was Russia, where Peter raised one army after another, determined to win

through in the end. He understood, however, that he was isolated, and that none of his allies was willing to sacrifice anything in order that he should secure the gains he hoped for. There were consequently openings for diplomatic skill, and if Sweden could support her policy by strong military efforts, she ought still to have had a fair chance of success.

Görtz proceeded on those lines. By mustering all her remaining strength Sweden was once more to become a military power, and by taking advantage of dissensions and war-weariness, she might secure peace on easy terms with some of her enemies, and afterwards be in a position to force others to agree to more favourable terms. The reins of government were taken from the Council, and placed in the hands of Görtz and his subordinates. When the old administrative departments were found to be slow or inconvenient, most of their business was transferred to temporary committees. Görtz was particularly anxious that the treasury should be in possession of all available gold and silver in the country. Hence public funds and the assets of minors were taken over, and heavy loans were demanded from the well-to-do. Copper coins were issued to replace the actual silver coins that had been withdrawn. They were stamped in the same manner as the former silver coins and given the same value, but they were issued in too large quantities and caused therefore considerable fluctuations in prices. In order to hinder undue rises in the value of commodities and to calm the discontent of the public, the government began to interfere and finished by laying all commerce under the management of the Crown. Instead of improving matters this accentuated the economic pressure and the people grew still more dissatisfied. The civil servants who had served under Charles XI were among those who most bitterly opposed the new ré-

gime. They disliked to see the regular administrative routine disturbed and their own influence circumscribed. They were burdened with heavy taxes and they suffered further from the fall in the currency and the soaring rise in the cost of living. They began to hate Görtz, whom they regarded as the instigator of all this evil. Their respect for the king himself was still unimpaired, the more so as his remarkable personality could not but inspire admiration, even in the hearts of his opponents. There were men, however, who secretly discussed the possibility of altering the constitution so as to make the autocratic methods of Görtz's government impossible. Those who had once welcomed the despotism of Charles XI were now ready to undo its consequences in the reign of Charles XII.

In the meantime the Swedish people responded to the need of their country. Fresh drafts of recruits were called out, mercenary troops were engaged abroad, and before long considerable forces were again available. When Charles started out for an autumn campaign in 1718, he led a well equipped army of 30,000 men, indeed a terrible weapon in the hands of so able a general.

Diplomatic endeavours had as yet produced no definite results, but the statecraft of Görtz was beginning to be reckoned with by foreign powers. Görtz was alive to political complications in England. He intended to support an eventual revolution against George I in favour of the Stuarts. The Swedish ambassador in London, Charles Gyllenborg, was himself engaged in Jacobite propaganda, but the plot was discovered. Gyllenborg was imprisoned, and his papers were confiscated. The English government prevailed on the Dutch to act in the same manner towards Görtz who in 1717 was visiting the Netherlands. These infringements of international courtesy did not further good relations between England and Sweden, but it did not come

to open rupture.[1] No doubt the English government hesitated to bring to light such delicate matters as revolutionary plans to restore the Stuart monarchy. When Görtz after a time was set free, he seems to have kept up his political intercourse with the Stuarts, for shortly before the death of Charles XII a Swedish expedition in aid of the exiled family was considered. As the throne of George I was none too secure, such danger could not be ignored. Görtz was not without hope of securing peace with some of Sweden's many enemies, but no government seemed inclined to agree to follow up a peace treaty by helping to fight Sweden's battles against her remaining enemies. The position was nevertheless such that a strong Swedish offensive might easily weigh down the balance in Sweden's favour, a possibility which was eagerly hoped for by Charles XII and his minister.

Charles's idea was to let Denmark first of all pay for Sweden's material losses. In 1716 he had invaded Norway, penetrating as far as Oslo, but the available troops had been inadequate for his purpose. In the autumn of 1718 Charles returned with a much stronger army. Using *Göteborg* as a base, he launched his main attack on southern Norway, while one of his generals, Armfelt, was to occupy the neighbourhood of Trondhjem. The decisive movements depended now as always on the king. At the fort of Fredriksten (close to Fredrikshald) Charles met with considerable resistance, and began therefore a regular siege. He was making considerable headway, the trenches being dug closer to the fortress every night. Then, on the evening of the 30th of November, when Charles as was his wont, superintended the work in the trenches, a fatal bullet ended his life.

[1] The well-known writer Daniel Defoe undertook to champion Patkul's cause in a popular essay. Instead of attacking Swedish politics, however, Defoe published later an account of the wars of Charles XII in which he eulogized the achievements of the Swedish king.

Did Charles fall by the hand of an enemy or of a murderer? This question was put immediately after his death and may be said not to have been definitely answered yet. Several examinations have been carried out on his body, which was buried in *Riddarholmskyrkan* in Stockholm. The last of these investigations was made in 1917, when the best available historic and medical authorities participated. The conclusions they arrived at were that Charles's death was caused by one projectile; that this was probably a bullet from a musket of a calibre commonly used at that time; and finally that it had passed through his head from left to right with so much force that it must have been aimed at close range. From evidence given by eye-witnesses as to the king's position when he fell, and from what is known about the siege, it is highly probable that the bullet originated in the Swedish lines. It is considered unlikely that an enemy would have succeeded in entering these lines. That is as far as it seems possible to get. It must be added that Charles's own subjects have not been suspected for this deed. On the other hand, unfavourable conclusions have been drawn from the businesslike way in which Charles's brother-in-law, Prince Frederick of Hesse, made use of the catastrophe. He must have been prepared for such a possibility, and had undoubtedly been closely associated with several foreign officers of questionable loyalty, who served in the Swedish army. These conclusions may, however, be rash and unjust. The indifference which Charles showed concerning his own safety makes it far from surprising that he met a soldier's common fate, and premeditated action in the event of his sudden death affords no proof of criminal intent.

* * *

»Whatever we may think of the death of Charles XII, the purpose of his life was indeed finished when he met his death», writes Eric Gustav Geijer. This well-known historian assumes that Sweden's position was untenable, and that the disaster following on the death of Charles XII could not have been averted. A similar point of view is held by the Livonian investigator, Karl Schirren, than whom no one has more thoroughly and ingeniously studied the long and intricate story of the great Northern war. »It is true that he (Charles XII) was unable to save that which was past saving. If Sweden, however, desires to honour Charles XI as her founder, and in spite of profound admiration for the son, blames him in her heart for having hurled her from the dominating position she occupied — as though she had not herself resigned that position — — — she ought rather, in common justice to herself to recognize Charles XII as his father's successor who completed the work of which she thinks so highly. He completed this work against his will under the hard necessity of fate; not according to the method of Gyllenstjerna which his father had ignored and gambled away, nor in shame and disgrace, but in the splendour, blazing forth across the melancholy years immediately following until to-day, of a glorious fall, having no other choice save to fall ingloriously.»

Harald Hjärne has perhaps penetrated more deeply into the confused development of eastern Europe than any other historian, and his clear-sighted analysis has revealed fresh links between past and present. The conclusions he draws from his careful investigations into the remarkable career of Charles XII differ in many respects from those referred to above. In his interesting essay on Charles XII (1897) Hjärne particularly emphasizes the wide range of the problems of that period. »The process of civilizing Russia and the

Swedish domination in Scandinavia were not the only problems to be solved. The diverse elements of which the Muscovite empire was composed were now being welded into a coherent whole by a military, financial and agrarian revolution... The fate of the aristocratic Polish republic was decided, and the aggressive policy of the Ottoman empire rebuffed... The seething unrest, characterized by tribal fusions and disintegrations in the vast regions which have aptly been called »Half-Asia» were brought into relation with the upheavals of the European continent. In the pursuit of the phantom of Slavonic conquest, the Saxons, whose land had cradled the Lutheran Reformation, lost the hegemony of Northern Germany. Schemes for restoring the Stuarts occupied political intriguers in the Russian and Swedish military camps, no less than in the cabinets of Paris and Madrid. At one time the fate of the European continent lay in the hands of the lone warrior king in Altranstädt. The tenseness of the political situation was paralleled first a century afterwards when the emperors of the East and West met in Tilsit. Only against this background, still obscured by dense mist, shall we in the future be able to discern more clearly the real character of Charles XII.» As regards the appreciation of Charles, Hjärne utters a definite warning against measuring him by the standards afforded either by success or by defeat. »What do we for instance know about Hannibal, also one of the vanquished? His greatness must be judged as little better than heroic foolishness by the cheap fatalism which, in the absence of adequate knowledge of the conditions and progress of the struggle, is content to take the outward result as the verdict of the events themselves... Like Hannibal, it has been the fate of Charles XII to be regarded chiefly as a champion, or in other words, a martyr for a lost cause, and his memory has been treated accordingly.»

Another Swedish historian, Ludvig Stavenow, has summed up the results of his study on Swedish ascendancy in the following words (1918): »The Swedish empire succumbed in the end to a concerted attack by all its enemies, which Swedish diplomacy had been unable to prevent. But Sweden's struggle in her own defence was long and determined, and has not often been equalled, which in itself is the best proof of the effective statesmanship which had built up this power. The Swedish empire undoubtedly lacked the strength that it might have derived from being more of a geographical whole, with finished and natural boundaries — which indeed had been one of the aims of the Swedish empire builders... Recent events show what profound truth lay behind the solution which the Swedish statesmen of the seventeenth century had found for this — in its widest sense — European problem, a solution which Charles XII endeavoured to bring about, fighting a desperate fight until the end.»

Whether the Swedish Baltic Empire was merely the outcome of temporary circumstances and therefore necessarily shortlived, or whether it possessed germs of future greatness and stability is hard to say. Which of these alternatives is considered the more probable depends ultimately on the importance one attaches to Tsar Peter and to Russia's advance to the Baltic. As long as Russia's dominion over the Baltic coast is regarded as an undoubted necessity — and it is generally so regarded by political and historical writers in western Europe — so long will the sudden collapse of the Swedish Baltic Empire seem inevitable.

But there is another possibility, namely that Russia's interests should consist in peaceful education of the many peoples and races which are intermingled on the great Slav plain, and that for this reason, Russia's natural line of expansion should go south and east. In this light Muscovite

aggression towards the west becomes a strange adventure, essentially foreign to Russian development, and influenced if not even called forth by the conflicts and political aspirations of western Europe. The contrast between Moscow and St. Petersburg is not quite what Russian historians and their West-European admirers have wished to make out, the contrast between Oriental barbarism and West-European culture. St. Petersburg and all that this city embodied meant to Russia above all a reversal of her former associations. It was the beginning of the foreign domination which for centuries has made Russian politics a source of danger to the peace of Europe. In the light of such reasoning Swedish dominion in the Baltic constituted not only a bulwark against the threatening Russian avalanche but a natural political development, not necessarily of short duration.

Viewed in this light the struggle of Charles XII becomes something more than a last heroic effort to save what was really impossible to preserve. It must be regarded as a necessary consequence of Swedish Baltic policy embarked upon a whole century before and brought to a crisis by peculiar circumstances in the beginning of Charles's reign. In this case, however, all should not have been lost by the death of the king. When Gustavus Adolphus was killed in the battle of Lützen, there were able and willing hands to steer the Swedish ship into port, and there ought to have been somebody equally ready to take the baton which fell from the failing grasp of King Charles.

Unfortunately there was no one to carry on the struggle. This may be accounted for partly by the autocratic methods of Charles XI, which had driven the nobility out of the government and broken the long tradition of public service. But the blame rests also with Charles XII himself who had not like Gustavus Adolphus made provision for the govern-

ment in the event of his death. It is said that the king when asked to make such provision, had answered evasively: »There is always some head which the crown will fit.» As it happened the succession was not quite clear, and Swedish leading men considered it far more important to settle this and similar problems, than to bring the campaign, which the king had begun, to a successful end.

The result was indeed pitiable. Charles's brother-in-law, Prince Frederick of Hesse, assumed the rôle of leader. Immediately after the death of Charles he had Görtz arrested, and his own wife, Princess Ulrica Eleonora, acknowledged as reigning queen. The siege of Fredrikssten was abandoned. The Swedish army received orders to retreat in such haste that large stores were left behind, while the enemy was allowed to make several plucky attacks on the coast as regiment after regiment passed on towards Sweden. The fate of the expedition directed against Trondhjem was far worse, for nearly the whole army perished during a blizzard in the mountains. The new government continued its work in the same haphazard way. It hastened to conclude peace with Lord Carteret, whom King George of England-Hanover had sent over for this purpose. By this treaty Hanover acquired Bremen-Verden, and promised naval assistance against Russia. Shortly afterwards peace was concluded with Prussia, which retained the southern portion of Swedish Pomerania. By a peace treaty with Denmark the former boundaries were restored, but Sweden was forced to renounce her alliance with Holstein-Gottorp and her right to exemption from toll in the Sound. Swedish hopes of assistance from these powers in forcing Russia to agree to an advantageous peace failed entirely. The English navy in command of Sir John Norris cruised in the Baltic for three consecutive summers (1719—1721) but remained passive. As the Swedish government had disbanded the army that King Charles

had raised and the promised aid from foreign powers was not forthcoming, the peace terms that Russia would agree to must necessarily be hard. The tsar sent naval expeditions to raid the Swedish coast, and practically nothing was done by the government to stop them. In the end Sweden was forced to conclude the peace of Nystad (1721) by which Russia retained Livonia, Esthonia and Ingria and also the province of Viborg in eastern Finland.

The peace of Nystad closed the chapter of Swedish dominance in the Baltic. It has previously been emphasized that this need not have been the result of the death of Charles XII. The position in 1718 was not unlike what it had been after the Swedish defeat at Poltava. In both cases the fascinating personality of the king had dominated everything, and when he was removed from the scene, no longer inspiring the men with his indomitable courage and determination, disaster quickly followed. Many of the common soldiers almost worshipped Charles XII, and years afterwards old veterans from his campaigns raised their hats whenever his name was mentioned. But without him, their courage failed them, and no one came forth in his place to lead them out of the dark days of adversity into a victorious future.

THE AGE OF FREEDOM AND THE GUSTAVIAN ERA.

1718—1815.

THE AUTOCRATIC rule of Charles XII, especially after Görtz had become the king's favourite and his chief adviser, and the increasing difficulties caused by continuous warfare, gave rise to an intense distrust of the absolute monarchy, even among those who had originally supported it. The sudden death of the king, and the uncertainty as regards the succession, afforded a long desired opportunity of changing the constitution. The nearest surviving relatives of the king were, a) Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the son of his elder sister, and b) his younger sister Ulrika Eleonora, married to Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel. The laws of succession were somewhat vague, but favoured distinctly the claims of Ulrika Eleonora. During his lifetime, Charles XII had shown a preference for Charles Frederick whose rights were strongly supported by Görtz as long as this minister was in authority. Frederick of Hesse, however, who happened to be in the vicinity of headquarters when the fatal bullet ended the life of Charles XII, acted with decisive speed. The prince had already discussed with his wife and confidential friends what steps to take in the event of the sudden death of the king. He sent a special messenger to bring the news to Ulrika Eleonora, had Görtz arrested, and made sure of

the support of the leaders of the Swedish army in Norway. In Stockholm, Ulrika Eleonora succeeded in persuading the members of the Council to acknowledge her as sovereign, promising on her part to reestablish the constitutional form of government which had been superseded by the despotism of Charles XI. When the *Riksdag* assembled in Stockholm at the beginning of 1719, however, the Estates refused to acknowledge her claim to the succession. But they elected her Queen on condition that they should be empowered to draw up a new constitution. This new constitution greatly restricted the former authority of the sovereign and increased that of the Council and the *Riksdag*. An opportunity of further limiting royal authority offered itself when, at the Riksdag of 1720, Ulrika Eleonora resigned her crown in favour of the Prince Consort. Frederick's Declaration on his accession, together with the Constitution of 1720, established a new form of government, whereby the Council as representatives of the Estates replaced the former autocracy of the king.

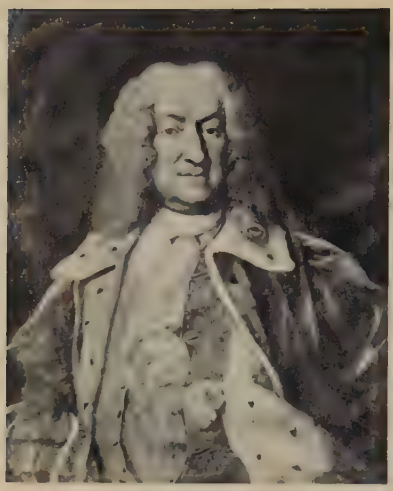
As a result of these measures, the king became hardly more than President of the Council, although he possessed two votes in that assembly, and a casting vote. Nor had the sovereign any further influence on the nominations to the Council except that when a vacancy was to be filled, he was entitled to choose one out of three candidates proposed by the *Riksdag*. According to an old tradition, which is probably far from being correct, Charles XII had once during his stay in Turkey ridiculed the Council by sending home a riding-boot to preside at the meetings of this body. In 1720, on the other hand, the President of the Council of the Realm had become little better than a crowned puppet.

The Council itself was dependent on the Estates, which appointed its members and, at the meetings of each *Riks-*

dag, enquired into its administration. The minutes of the Council's proceedings were submitted to the Estates, which had the power of removing any of its members who did not satisfy the political requirements of the *Riksdag.* The authority of the *Riksdag* was consequently twofold, for its members acted both as prosecutors and judges, and, generally speaking, their judgment was influenced by prejudices and expediency. The Lords of the Council found that the art of government lay in their ability to satisfy the expectations of the Estates. Against those who failed in this respect, sufficient cause for removing them from their office could always be found, while even grave mistakes were readily forgiven the obedient, humble servants of the Estates.

The representatives of the people — the Estates of the Realm — had come into possession of supreme authority. Their composition was determined by a law called *Riksdagsordningen* of 1723. The Estates were to be four in number: the *Nobility,* consisting of the heads of the noble families, or of delegates properly authorized by them; the *Clergy,* consisting of the Bishops and of elected representatives from each diocese; the *Burghers,* representing the citizens of the towns, and finally the *Peasants,* representing the farmers. In practice the Nobility, Clergy and Burghers succeeded in obtaining the chief influence in the *Riksdag.* Only members of these three orders were chosen to serve on the Secret Committee *(Sekreta Utskottet)* which was empowered to debate, and even to decide matters reserved for secret discussion. By referring most questions to the Secret Committee, on the ground that a secret discussion of these was considered necessary, this body soon became the real political force in the Riksdag. The president of the House of Nobility *(Lantmarskalk)* was also chairman of the Secret Committee. The choice

The Royal Castle at Stockholm. Designed by Count Nicodemus Tessin the younger (b. 1654, d. 1728), who also for a time supervised its construction.



1.

2.

3.

4.

Political Leaders from the Age of Freedom (Era of Liberty).

1. Count Arvid Horn, President of the Council (b. 1664, d. 1742). Portrait by L. Pasch the elder. 2. Count Axel von Fersen the elder, Field-marshal (b. 1719, d. 1794). Portrait in pastel by G. Lundberg. 3. Count Charles Gustavus Tessin, President of the Council (b. 1695, d. 1770). Portrait by L. Tocqué. 4. Count Anders John von Höpken, President of the Council (b. 1712, d. 1789). Portrait in pastel by G. Lundberg.

of this important officer no less than the election of the ordinary members of the Committee, were events of paramount importance, determining the character of each *Riksdag*. As a rule, the Estates met every third year, but sometimes at shorter intervals.

The authors of this Constitution had hoped to re-establish the authority of the Council, as it had existed before the rise of the absolute monarchy under Charles XI (1680). But after the ravages of the economic reform during his reign it was impossible to reconstruct such a powerful Council.[1] The former aristocratic members whose vast possessions had made them independent of office, had been completely ruined. The Council should therefore have the support of the Estates, but at the same time guide and direct their labours. At the beginning of the new era this could actually be done, in consequence of the personal influence long exercised by Count Arvid Horn, the leading member of the Council. But the Estates soon realised their chance of making themselves the masters of the Council. The power thus within their grasp was used to the full at the meeting of the *Riksdag*, 1738—1739. From that time the Estates began to exercise an unrestricted authority while, within the *Riksdag*, the Secret Committee reigned supreme, covering up its actions by the deepest secrecy. There was no appeal from the decisions of that Committee, as the protection afforded by an enlightened public opinion through the medium of a free Press did not then exist. Everything printed had to be submitted to the eye of a censor whose authority was exercised in strict accordance with the wishes of the ruling party. The governing Council depended unfortunately on the will of the governed, and were without any corrective against undue

[1] Compare the work of Empson and Dudley during the reign of Henry VII in England.

interference on the part of the Estates. This must in the end lead to a decline in the *morale* of the whole people.

The individual members of the *Riksdag* were not impervious to undue influences of one kind or another. To some extent the Government took advantage of this fact, giving promotion or other favours to their supporters, although these actions might later be severely rebuked by the Secret Committee. The Estates themselves assigned sums of money to the support of various industries, but these sums were often enough diverted to bribe the influential friends of the party then in power. In addition to this, the representatives of foreign governments in Stockholm had funds at their disposal for the purpose of influencing the majority of the *Riksdag*, or, what came to the same thing, the majority of the Secret Committee. As years went on, this developed into a methodical system of bribery, battles on behalf of foreign powers being fought during the debates of the Swedish Estates.

The men of those days flattered themselves that they had replaced the tyranny of the monarchy by a rule of true liberty, and for that reason this era has generally been called »the Age of Freedom». But it has also been called the period of Party Rule. The terms are not contradictory. The age was taken up with the struggles of the various parties for power, and freedom belonged only to the party which happened to be predominant at any given time. This so-called freedom consisted chiefly in liberty for its members to abuse their power for the purpose of obtaining material advantages. For it must not be forgotten that everyone's aims were directed to attain selfish ends. Much, it is true, was spoken about ideal motives — the honour, reputation and prosperity of the country, and the like. There could undoubtedly be found some who strove sincerely to attain these ends, but the real struggle was for

the highest administrative posts, or for positions which, if not so distinguished, were nevertheless lucrative. It was a struggle for preferment and titles, for a share of public monies, for advantageous contracts and similar favours. But all this is not surprising. As early as in the days of Charles XI, corruption in Swedish political life was not unknown, and it is probably not an uncommon occurrence anywhere during periods of economic transformation. But, in the epoch with which we are now dealing, such practices became more prevalent than before. This may be explained by the fact that the authorities had not sufficient strength and integrity to curb individual self-seeking and greed.[1]

Before concluding this short sketch of the general features of the epoch under review, it must be pointed out that much interest was devoted to home industries and peaceful pursuits. The industrial leaders benefited greatly by the vigorous, epoch-making efforts of the seventeenth century. What had then been done to encourage the iron industry, to stimulate commerce and to develop the cities, was now continued by means of fresh commercial legislation and other practical measures on the part of the government. In order to promote native industries in general the government prohibited the import of a large number of articles which might be manufactured in the country, and forbade the export of the raw material necessary for such production. The textile industries were particularly encouraged, special boards, so-called *hall-rätter,* being established for the purpose of giving advice and financial support, of superintending the manufacturing processes and, above all, of negotiating loans and granting premiums for manufacture from funds set apart by the Estates for

[1] The political corruption in Sweden may be compared with that prevalent in England during the time of Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle.

this purpose. The iron industry was supported in a similar manner, but managed to raise and transmit loans independently of the State through the agency of a central office established in Stockholm, *Jernkontoret.* In order to promote Swedish shipping, certain reductions in the duties were made for goods imported in Swedish ships, while foreign vessels were allowed to carry to Sweden only goods produced in their respective countries. This restriction of import (the so-called *Produktplakaten* of 1724 and 1726) was a direct imitation of England's celebrated »Navigation Act». The value of these efforts will be discussed later on, but it may be mentioned that public morals were seriously endangered by underhand methods for obtaining economic concessions from the State. Even a strong and independent government might possibly favour one section of the population at the expense of another and yet carry out their industrial policy fairly successfully. The Swedish government in power during the middle of the eighteenth century, however, was liable to be unduly influenced by individual wire-pulling. There were many different ways of acquiring some of the available subsidy, and also of circumventing enquiry and supervision. The entire system, therefore, contributed to spread a spirit of corruption, which for instance was manifest in the often poor quality of the manufactured articles.

The best corrective against corruption and selfish abuse of power consists in the criticism of an enlightened public opinion, which finds expression not only at the elections of the representatives of the people but also in the public Press. No reaction worthy of mention was to be expected at the elections to the Swedish *Riksdag* as it was then constituted. The most powerful of the Estates — the Nobility — consisted of hereditary members. The Burghers again, whose representatives were elected, were far too con-

cerned in the system of plundering the public to resist the abuse with any vigour. The Press was severely censored and had therefore become a tool in the hands of the party in power. In the course of time, however, a vigorous opposition arose, strong enough to secure the redress of these wrongs and to introduce a freer spirit of criticism. But, by that time, abuses and political mistakes had become so evident and their results so injurious that the entire system of government was undermined and threatened to collapse.

* *
*

It would be of comparatively small interest to the reader to describe in detail the political struggles between the parties during the Age of Freedom and the rule of the Estates, and only its main features will therefore be considered.

The period began with a bitter struggle for the crown between Ulrika Eleonora and Frederick of Hesse on the one side, and Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp on the other. The defeat of the latter became a matter of course when Frederick of Hesse succeeded in imprisoning Baron Görtz. Deprived of his powerful support, the young Duke of Holstein was altogether out of the running. The Prince of Hesse and his friends now succeeded in creating a national party, opposed to Görtz and intent on making him the scapegoat for the recent misrule. A special court was set up to enquire into his offence; the proceedings of this court were carried out with the utmost haste, little respect being paid to the forms of law. The prisoner's doom was decided in advance, for such a dangerous man as Görtz could not be suffered to live in the country, and far less to find refuge abroad. In spite of the really brilliant defence made by the accused, he was sentenced to

death and immediately executed. But, even after the fall of Görtz, the Duke of Holstein had various powerful friends who wished to make him the successor to the childless royal pair. These friends, the Holsteiners as they were called, had, after the peace of Nystad, obtained support from Russia, Tsar Peter having married one of his daughters to the Duke of Holstein. The Holsteiners hoped that by maintaining this friendship with Russia and by electing Charles Frederick heir to the Swedish throne, the Russian government would be persuaded to restore Livonia which had been lost to Sweden by the peace treaty. The Holsteiners dominated the *Riksdag* of 1723 and seemed on the point of attaining their ends, when their plans were shattered by Arvid Horn.

Count Arvid Horn had been one of the most daring of the generals serving under Charles XII in his early campaigns, and had also been employed on diplomatic missions abroad. Later on, he had been sent home to act as Charles's confidential representative in the Council and, as Chancellor or foreign minister *(Kanslipresident)* he directed all correspondence with foreign powers. Horn soon became closely associated with the political malcontents and, after the death of the king, played an active although not very conspicuous part in altering the Constitution. He supported the election of Ulrika Eleonora and Prince Frederick and worked for the downfall of Görtz. By advantageous marriages this once poor officer had become one of the wealthiest landowners in Sweden, and he was now an ardent advocate of the reestablishment of the old authority of the Council. The reason why he opposed the Holsteiners was mostly one of personal ambition, for he was afraid of being superseded by the public men of outstanding ability who were leaders of the party.

The break between Horn and the Holsteiners came to a

head on the question of Sweden's foreign policy. Europe was then (1725) divided into two camps, England—Hanover and France being arrayed against Austria, Spain and Russia. Both these groups endeavoured to gain the adherence of Sweden, and the Holsteiners were warm advocates of the last-mentioned group. Horn considered, and with reason, that the interests of peace would be best served by the western powers, and that Sweden, so greatly in need of peace in her present exhausted condition, should seek their support against the superiority of Russia and her allies. Horn's proposal that Sweden should join the Hanoverian alliance obtained a majority of only one vote in the Council. In the Riksdag of 1726—1727, however, when Horn himself was President of the House of Nobility and chairman of the Secret Committee, his policy was accepted. The chief Holsteiners were expelled from the Council and their places filled by his most reliable supporters. After this personal victory Horn pursued a successful pacifist policy, supported by the English-French alliance. The members of the Riksdag readily submitted to his personal authority and upheld his policy at home for some time to come.

But a change was to take place. The Estates had not forgotten their share in weeding out the Council, and as the self-assurance of individual members increased, so did their desire for personal power and profit. When the wounds caused by the late war had healed, and prosperity increased, a generation grew up which had no part in the great sacrifices demanded by twenty years of warfare. But they bore in mind the wonderful deeds of Charles XII and also the hard peace treaties forced upon their country. The hearts of many were filled with desire for revenge, directed first and foremost against Russia. During the decade of 1730—1740, political differences arose

between England and France which were afterwards to place these countries in opposition to each other for more than a century. France began once more to entertain the aggressive policy pursued during the reign of Louis XIV. French diplomats in Stockholm began therefore to negotiate with Horn's opponents, who could more easily than Horn himself be persuaded to work for war. Under the leadership of the French ambassadors, Casteja and St. Severin, a political party was formed for the purpose of overthrowing Horn. The plan succeeded, thanks to a ruthless agitation and to the large sums of French money used in bribery. During the *Riksdag* of 1738—1739 Horn was persuaded to resign of his own accord, while most of his adherents in the Council were expelled from that body. The victors filled the vacant seats with their reliable friends.

The party which was victorious in 1739 called itself »Hats» and nicknamed Horn and his followers »nightcaps», afterwards shortened to »Caps». The Hat party, which remained in power for a period of about twenty-five years, counted its chief supporters among the younger officials and officers of noble birth, and among the more important burghers. The foreign policy of the Hats aimed at military successes abroad, and especially revenge on Russia by the aid of France. At home, the Hats wished to stimulate native enterprise, and the system of granting support to industrial pursuits was greatly developed under their régime. In many respects these endeavours met with fair success, so much so that the period of Hat rule may be termed the zenith of the »Age of Freedom». But the best results were not obtained until the party had suffered a severe defeat, and had taken its unfortunate experiences to heart.

The desire of the Hats for warlike enterprise seemed to

be given a favourable opportunity when the War of the Austrian Succession began in 1741. This conflict was at the same time a struggle between France and Austria for the possession of Belgium, and between France and England for colonies. England made common cause with Austria and on their side stood Russia. France, again, had as her allies Prussia, Bavaria and Sweden. Under pressure from France, Sweden declared war against Russia in 1741, but never has Sweden waged a more disgraceful war. The majority in the *Riksdag* which had voted for war were men of overconfident war enthusiasm. They expected to gain great successes, relying not so much on the Swedish army as on skilful intrigues in Russia, where a revolution was to be organized and conquests, therefore, easily made. When the Swedish army assembled in Finland, it proved to be very badly equipped, quite the reverse of the armies of Charles XII. The worst evil was that the officers were strategists not in war but in politics; and their lack of *esprit de corps* and of military discipline was disastrous. The Russian revolution was carried out successfully, but when by its means Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great, had become empress, she was not inclined to pay a high price for the faint assistance given by the Swedes. On the approach of a Russian army the Swedish forces retired from one position after another, finally evacuating the greater part of Finland with scarcely any resistance. Only by humbly obeying the orders of Elizabeth and electing as the old king's successor her *protégé*, Adolphus Frederick of Holstein, did the Swedish government succeed in purchasing a fairly acceptable peace, after having so wantonly begun this military adventure.

The war brought disgrace to Sweden, led to a considerable loss of territory, and upset the finances of the State. In addition, Sweden became dependent on the very

power which she in her pride had intended to crush. It need hardly be said that such results nearly deprived the Hats of power. During two meetings of the Estates in 1742—1743 and 1746—1747, their position was severely opposed and criticized by the Caps. At the first *Riksdag* the Hats laid the blame on the leaders whom they themselves had placed in command. The generals were tried, found guilty and executed, though their mistakes might as fairly have been ascribed to the policy of the government. The decisive struggle for power was postponed until the *Riksdag* of 1746—1747. The Caps were then supported by the Russian and English ambassadors in Stockholm, von Korff and Guy Dickens. The Hats had on their side the young Crown Prince Adolphus Frederick, and Lanmary, the French ambassador. For some time the result was uncertain. When von Korff, however, assumed an offensive attitude, behaving as though Sweden were subservient to Russia, the Hats, under the able leadership of Charles Gustavus Tessin,[1] succeeded in arousing a wave of patriotic wrath which entirely swept away the prospects of the Caps. The Council was augmented by a number of convinced Hats, and connection with France became closer than before. During the *Riksdag* Guy Dickens came into such sharp conflict with the Swedish government that he was recalled. England remained after this incident unrepresented in Stockholm for a long time.

The Hats, however, profited by this sharp lesson, and pursued in the future a foreign policy more profitable to the nation. They endeavoured to uphold peace and maintain Swedish independence of Russia by means of vigorous armaments and French political support and subsidies. An

[1] Charles Gustavus Tessin was grandson of the celebrated architect Nicodemus Tessin the elder (see p. 274) and son of Nicodemus Tessin the younger, who designed the present Royal Castle at Stockholm. Charles himself was an architect as well as a politician and directed for many years the building of the Castle.

alliance with France was, undoubtedly, more reliable than with Russia, for France desired a strong ally, while Russia wished to keep its neighbour in a dependent and weak position. But the French alliance was not without danger, for Sweden was occasionally expected to return the services rendered to her. This dependence on foreign nations, whether based on acknowledged subsidies or on secret bribes, remained a humiliating and dangerous factor in Swedish policy. It deprived the embittered partisans on either side of self-respect and integrity.

Political peace followed the complete defeat of the Caps in 1747. The Hats appeared to hold an almost impregnable position, thanks to their intimate connections with the court of the crown prince. But this intimacy gave rise to new differences. The newly elected heir to the throne, Duke Adolphus Frederick, was a serious, well-meaning man, very different from the old, frivolous King Frederick. Adolphus Frederick was weak and unintelligent, however, while the Crown Princess Lovisa Ulrika was both able and ambitious, like her brother, Frederick the Great of Prussia. Lovisa Ulrika came to Sweden determined to obtain a leading influence in the country. Her court soon became a meeting place for all that Sweden possessed of literary or artistic talent. Lovisa Ulrika herself, supported by Tessin, an accomplished man of the world, was the central figure in this *salon*, which became more popular because it was modelled after French patterns. The young family of the crown prince and crown princess was received with a delight which was as sincere as it was general, and the dormant Swedish royalism received a new lease of life. Lovisa Ulrika calculated that the Hats, out of gratitude for the support they had received against the Russian designs, would increase the power of the king when her husband should ascend the throne. She relied especially

on Tessin in this respect. King Frederick, who had been a mere puppet, passed away in 1751, and Adolphus Frederick ascended the throne in his stead. He was compelled, however, to make promises as binding as those of his predecessor. From that moment the wrath of the young queen was directed against the Hats, who had — in her opinion — been guilty of duplicity. She gathered around her a new party, consisting mostly of courtiers and young officers. By the aid of the so-called »Court Party» she hoped to overthrow the Hats.

Impatient to attain her political aims, the queen began the struggle at the *Riksdag* of 1755—56. Just then the authority of the Hats, both at home and abroad, was at its height. The Estates would therefore be less inclined than ever to overthrow it and at the same time diminish their own powers. At this *Riksdag* the leading figure among the Hats was Axel von Fersen. Though still a young man, he was experienced and cultured. He possessed determination and judgment, and was both courageous and eloquent. It is typical of the character of von Fersen that he declined the empty pomp of a seat in the Council, preferring the real power he would possess as leader of the House of Nobility and of the Secret Committee. Against such a skilful opponent and against the material interests which kept the ruling party together, the queen and her court-following were helpless. Defeated time and again in the *Riksdag,* Lovisa Ulrika finally decided to resort to a revolution, assisted by the populace of Stockholm. Her scheme was badly planned and betrayed before it came into execution. Her chief adherents were seized, condemned as traitors and executed. The king and queen themselves were threatened with the loss of their throne and compelled to make humiliating apologies. The Hat government was so firmly established that the trium-

phant party granted substantial rewards to its most prominent members.

While this party strife was shaking the Swedish *Riksdag*, one of the greatest struggles for power in the history of the world was already in progress, France and England having begun a fight for colonial supremacy (1755—1763). Linked up with this conflict, the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe. France had now reversed her policy of alliances and joined Austria and Russia against England and Prussia. Naturally enough she demanded the assistance of Sweden, and although there was no great desire for war in Sweden, the French demand could hardly be rejected. The Hat government found probably also a certain satisfaction in wounding the queen by joining the many enemies of her brother, Frederick the Great, whom she greatly admired. From 1757—62 Sweden participated, therefore, in the war against Prussia as the ally of France. It is interesting to note that in Sweden this campaign is remembered as the »potato war». The Swedish soldiers learnt to use the potato in Germany, and brought this valuable plant back to their native land, where it remained as the single memorable event of the whole war. The military operations were not quite so ineffective as those during the Hats' war against Russia. Being a competent drillmaster, Adolphus Frederick had improved the efficiency of the army, and its discipline had been stiffened. But although Prussia staggered beneath the burden of war, the Swedish attack was in itself of little effect. Swedish finance suffered greatly, however, and the Hat government had so far to humiliate itself as to entreat the queen to negotiate with her brother for peace (1762).

This unnecessary war, with its inglorious conclusion followed by ruined government finance and general trade depression, gave tongue to a criticism which had not

before ventured to make itself heard. The economic policy pursued by the Hats, both as regards the State and the national industries, had been possible only by an uninterrupted process of inflation of the currency. At a very early date Sweden had made use of bank notes, issued on a large scale by the National Bank, instructed by the Estates.[1] Up to 1739 the amount of this paper currency had been strictly limited and, consequently, the notes maintained their value. The Hats did not hesitate to increase the number of notes in circulation. As the Bank, or in reality, the Estates themselves, guaranteed the value of the notes, there could not in their opinion be any doubt as to their retaining this value. They had had no experience of the effect which an abnormal increase of paper currency must exercise on the level of prices and, thereby, on the value of the means of payment, and they closed their ears to all warnings. They allowed the Bank to procure funds for subsidizing the various branches of industry by means of an increased issue of notes. Then, when the war with Russia began, the Bank had to make good the deficit in ready money in the Treasury by fresh great issues of paper money. This caused a general demand for coined money, which the government endeavoured to counteract by instructing the Bank to suspend cash payments (1745). After this date Sweden was therefore restricted to paper currency, and the government confidently continued its financial policy. The crisis was brought to a head by the issue of notes necessitated by the war against Prussia.

The government must long have been aware that its monetary system was by no means satisfactory. Prices in

[1] Some Swedish authorities are of opinion that bank notes were used in Sweden earlier than in any other European country. A private bank was established in Stockholm in 1656, which issued bank notes. This bank was taken over by the Estates in 1668 and developed later on into the present Bank of Sweden *(Svenska Riksbanken)*.

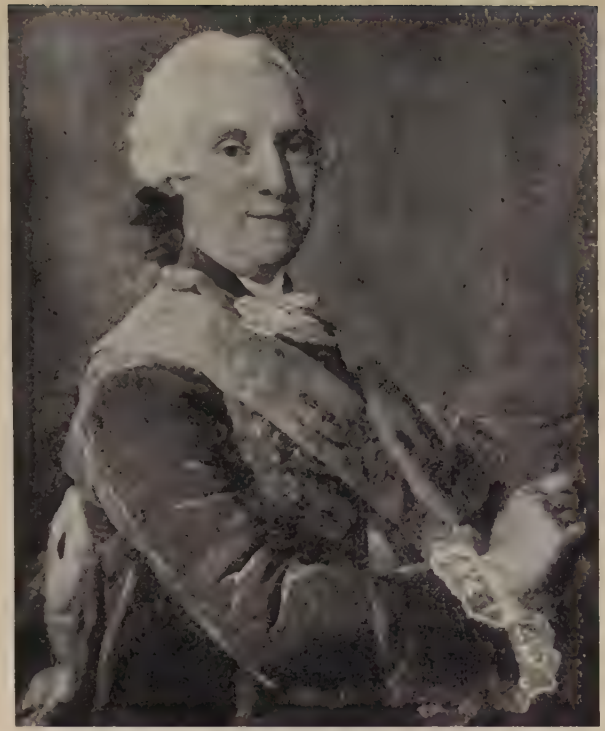
the country had gone up by successive stages, while the Swedish rate of exchange with foreign countries was rapidly falling. Temporary remedies had relieved the situation, but in view of the debts incurred during the last war, and the enormous issues of paper, a severe financial crisis could not be prevented. The sharpest criticism was now (1760—1765) directed against the Hat government from every quarter. It was accused of having pursued a hazardous war policy; it was blamed for having used the resources of the Bank for administrative expenses, and worse still, for replenishing party funds and favouring its own supporters. The critics dealt comparatively lightly with the grave irregularity of mixing up the affairs of the Bank with the finances of the Treasury. They were more severe on the dangerous practice of granting industrial subsidies of various kinds in a party spirit. Finally they pointed out that this system could not have existed so long but for the policy of secrecy advocated by the governing party. These accusations were too well founded to be denied, and received an additional emphasis from the commercial crisis which, after the end of the war, was felt all over the world. In Sweden the general trade depression revealed unmercifully how hollow was in reality the assumed prosperity of industry and commerce artificially encouraged by the Hats. At the *Riksdag* of 1765—66, the Caps were more strongly represented than ever, and the Hats were swept away from the Council and replaced by Caps.

The result of these drastic measures was salutary in many respects. The expensive and injurious practice of subsidizing industries was no longer resorted to, and the secret sittings of the *Riksdag* were for a short time discontinued. By special legislation (1766) the censorship was abolished, and full liberty granted to the Press. All documents dealing

with government administration should henceforth be accessible to any person wishing to examine them. The Swedish political Press had up till then been forced to content itself with publishing moral discourses such as appeared in Olov von Dalin's celebrated *Svenska Argus*, or, like the organ of the Hats, *En ärlig Svensk* (»An honest Swede») it had become the mouthpiece of the ruling party.

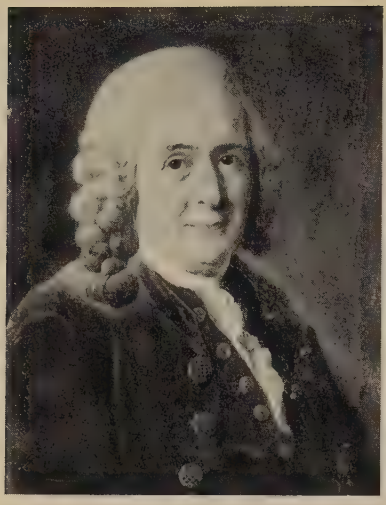
In other respects, however, the reaction was less beneficial. The economic policy of the Caps was, on the whole, not a great improvement on the previous policy of the Hats. They attempted to restore the banknotes to their full value by withdrawing large quantities of notes from circulation and by successively increasing a forced rate of exchange. This tempted to private hoarding of notes, which caused excessive fluctuation in their value, as the notes were either withheld or brought into circulation. These circumstances, combined with the cessation of industrial subsidies and the depression caused by the dislocation of foreign trade, brought far greater confusion into Swedish business life than had ever existed during the Hat period. The Caps therefore became quite as unpopular in the country as their opponents had been before, and party conflicts continued with undiminished bitterness.

The Caps made the same grave mistake as the Hats in seeking foreign help to maintain them in power. Instead of being dependent on France, however, the Caps turned to Russia, which was a far more dangerous friend. If French ministers in Stockholm had formerly advised and subsidised the Hat government, the Russian ambassador, von Ostermann, now supplied the money for bribery and corruption. Catherine II of Russia aimed consistently at territorial expansion, Poland and Turkey being the nearest victims of her intriguing policy. But she also had designs on Sweden, which are revealed in a secret treaty of 1769

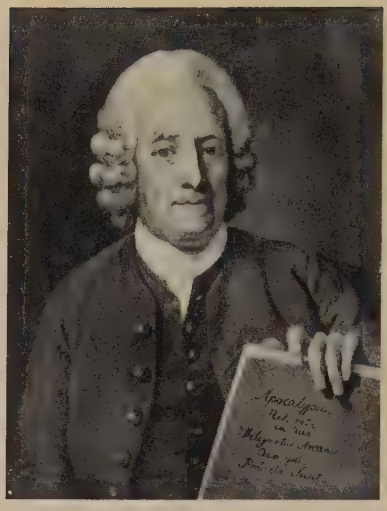


Adolphus Frederick (King 1751—71) and his Queen, Lovisa Ulrika, sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia.

Portraits by L. Pasch the younger.

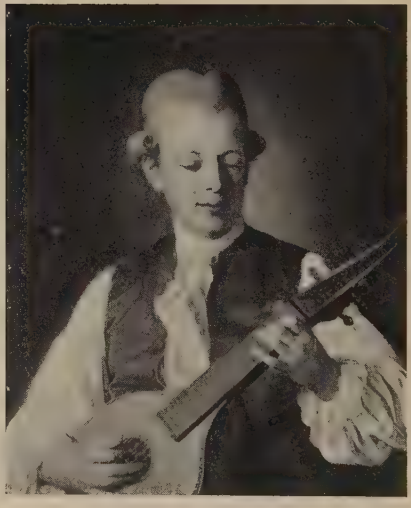


1.



2.

3.



4.

Representatives of Science and Literature (eighteenth century).

1. Linnaeus (Carl von Linné), Professor of botany in the University of Uppsala (b. 1707, d. 1778). Portrait by Alexander Roslin. 2. Emanuel Swedenborg, scientist, philosopher and mystic (b. 1688, d. 1772). Portrait by P. Krafft the elder. 3. Olof von Dalin, historian and belletrist (b. 1708, d. 1763). Contemporary portrait. 4. Carl Michael Bellman, poet (b. 1740, d. 1795). Portrait by P. Krafft the elder.

between Russia, Prussia and Denmark. The three countries agreed collectively to prevent any alteration in the existing Swedish constitution, which Catherine had good reason to regard as the surest guarantee of continued weakness.

The meetings of the Swedish *Riksdag* became more than ever the arena for foreign intrigues and native party strife. France and Russia were the chief powers concerned in these contests, while other countries spent comparatively limited amounts to influence Swedish politics. The Caps had their strongest supporters amongst the unprivileged classes, while the Hats more and more developed into an exclusive and aristocratic party. As the commoners had become better educated, they considered the privileges of the nobility unjustifiable, e. g. their right to hold the highest offices of State. The nobility endeavoured to safeguard themselves against encroachments on the part of the commoners by refusing to admit new families into their order. The opposition between the two parties became extremely bitter. Neither side, however, wished to change the existing state of disorder, which benefited whatever party happened to be in power. Faced with continued attacks from the commoners, the nobility turned to the king, whose limited authority they had once helped to destroy. The combined forces of the monarch and the nobility finally put an end to the rule of the Estates.

* *
*

In 1771 the insignificant King Adolphus Frederick died very suddenly. His eldest son and successor, Gustavus III, was a man of very different character. On his accession to the throne Gustavus was twenty-five years of age. He took much more after his mother than after his father, and resembled in many ways his uncle, Frederick the

Great. A literary and diplomatic genius, he concealed behind his somewhat effeminate manner a determination which in decisive and dangerous moments surprised both his friends and his opponents. In normal times he delighted in the refined pleasures of the Rococo age, but when circumstances required, he threw off the mask of social ease and acted with statesmanlike vigour. In his early youth, feeling ran high between the court and the Hat party. Later on he was weighed down by his mother's ambitious and changeable temperament. He acquired therefore a habit of dissimulation which in the end became almost second nature. He shared to the full his mother's love of popularity and of power, but, unlike her, he was capable of attaining both.

Already in his father's lifetime Gustavus began to play a successful part in the political struggles. He was in Paris when the news of his father's death reached him, and hurried back to Sweden, fully resolved to settle all party differences. Before leaving France he approached the French government in order to obtain its friendly support for his undertaking. It was evident to him that party strife, directed by foreign powers, would lead to a serious weakening of the country. In Poland for instance, Russian interference had brought the final collapse very near.

Gustavus' attempt, during the *Riksdag* of 1771—72, to bring about a reconciliation between the parties was fruitless. The Hats controlled the nobility, and the Caps were supreme among the commoners, but the latter managed to secure a majority in the Secret Committee. Thus the conflict went on. The Hats were in power for a short time, but were soon defeated by the Caps. At this juncture the nobility turned to the king for help, their ancient rights and privileges being jeopardized by the attack of the commoners. Outwardly the king appeared indifferent,

but secretly he made preparations for a revolution. He confided his plans to two young noblemen, Sprengtporten and Toll. As the position of the Caps in Stockholm seemed too strong to be attacked, it was planned that Sprengtporten should win over the troops in Finland and Toll those in Skåne for the scheme. Sprengtporten was afterwards to cross from Finland with an armed force and bring about a revolution in Stockholm. The plan worked at first successfully, but contrary winds delayed Sprengtporten's departure from Finland, and the plot was betrayed to the Caps, who discussed calling in reliable regiments from the provinces to defend the capital and arrest the king. At this moment Gustavus took the whole affair into his own hands. On the morning of the 19th August, 1772, when the guard at the palace was being relieved, he took command, persuaded the officers and men to swear him allegiance, arrested the Council and made himself master of all strategic points in the capital. The *coup* was carried out with lightning speed and received with acclamation by the inhabitants of Stockholm. Not a single drop of blood was spilt. On the 21st August, Gustavus summoned the Estates to meet him in the Great Hall of the Palace. He explained that the perilous situation of the country had prompted him to act, and asked them to sanction a new Constitution, which was read out to the assembled members. It was accepted without opposition and shortly afterwards the *Riksdag* broke up. The whole country was so weary of the constant party strife and of the general misrule, that there was no serious attempt at opposition.[1]

The Revolution carried out by Gustavus III put an end to the rule of the Estates and to the so-called »Age of

[1] An interesting »History of the late Revolution in Sweden» was written by C. F. Sheridan who was secretary of legation to the British embassy in Stockholm.

Freedom». Both fell together, undermined by the individual errors and abuses of the party in power. This epoch, however, left marks of lasting benefit to the country. The effects of many peaceful activities pursued during the »Age of Freedom» may be discerned in almost every sphere of Swedish life. In spite of the artificial stimulation of industry, and the consequent financial instability, the economic efforts of the Hats paved the way for a more mature policy. The arts and sciences flourished during this period, which could boast of an exceptional number of remarkable men. We may mention Eric Benzelius, the philologist; Sven Lagerbring, the historian; Anders Celsius, the physicist (who invented the centigrade thermometer); Emanuel Swedenborg, the philosopher and religious leader, and, last but not least, Linnaeus, the worldfamed botanist and pioneer systematist. We have previously mentioned how general interest in scientific research and in political and economic matters increased, until public opinion finally compelled the government to remove all obstacles to a free Press.

The nation at large was gradually being educated in public affairs during this period. The unprincipled methods resorted to by the rival parties in the *Riksdag* must not allow us to forget the importance of an extensive participation in public life, for which the work of the *Riksdag* afforded so many opportunities. At a time when political despotism prevailed in continental Europe, Sweden and England were the only countries where the government acted in cooperation with the representatives of the people. It is therefore in these countries alone that an ancient, parliamentary form of government has been developed. There exist marked differences between their constitutions, but also strong resemblances. Many Swedes were influenced by English political thought. Dalin in his

journalistic writings is one example, Serenius, the noted leader of the Cap party, another. On the whole, the efforts of the two free nations, striving in different ways to improve their State institutions and the well-being of the community, produced strikingly similar results. In both countries the principle of popular representation had struck such deep roots in the national consciousness that it lived on in spite of unfavourable conditions during the following decades. In Sweden, the revolution of 1772 threatened to overthrow the power of the discredited Estates, but although Gustavus III endeavoured to ignore their existence, he did not succeed. The Estates had been their own worst enemies, however, and to the extent that they reformed past mistakes and abuses, they strengthened their position. The tradition and the general parliamentary procedure built up by unremitting labour during the »Age of Freedom» was to pass on as an important heritage to future ages, and survive to our own time.

* *
*

Gustavus III may be best described as one of the enlightened despots and philosophers on the throne. He did not, like the Emperor Joseph II, believe that reform and education would immediately bring the millennium; neither was his sole purpose in pursuing a progressive policy to be in the fashion and win the applause of the intellectual *élite*. Although Gustavus was in a sense an actor, he was more than that. When he set to work to gain political power, he was inspired by patriotic zeal, for in his eyes the welfare of his country and the enhancement of his own glory were identical. He had sufficient common sense to understand that his power must ultimately depend on sound government, which alone could win the confidence

and goodwill of his people. But he was also an egotist, who welcomed every opportunity for pleasure and display. In a harder school he might, like his uncle, have developed into a disillusioned administrator, and tendencies in this direction were not wanting during the later part of his reign. Unfortunately his early successes tempted him to rely too much on the persuasiveness of his personal charm. By acting the part of national hero, he expected at any time to rouse the loyal enthusiasm of his people. Gustavus has been said to have had a face like Janus, one side expressing stern devotion to duty, while the other side bore the imprint of lighthearted ease and love of pleasure. Both the successes and the mistakes of his rule may be explained by these two opposing natures of the king, ever at war with each other.

The court of Versailles served as a model for the court of Gustavus III. He imitated the practice of the French kings who attempted to focus all power and interest in themselves. He introduced a magnificent and rigid court ceremonial, hitherto unknown in Sweden, varying it as he changed his residence from the palace in Stockholm to his country seats at Drottningholm, Ekolsund or Gripsholm. Gustavus preferred, however, the little *château* of Haga, near Stockholm, a spot to which he could retire either for the purpose of arduous labour or for carefree pleasure. He designed a large palace to be erected in the beautiful grounds of Haga. The foundations were laid, but after his death the building was not continued. Gustavus endeavoured to attract to his court all that the kingdom possessed of splendour and reputation, of beauty and genius. This was not merely an expression of royal vanity. The king felt a passionate desire to breathe an intellectual atmosphere, and to surround himself with poets and artists. Among all the learned societies founded dur-

ing his reign, scarcely any interested him more than the Swedish Academy, established in 1786. He wished this society to hold the same position of unquestioned authority in Swedish literary life as the French Academy did in France. In the Swedish Academy he met on equal terms, as far as his royal dignity permitted, leading Swedish writers — Kellgren, Leopold, Oxenstjerna. The most original of the Swedish poets, however, the immortal singer Bellman, could not well be admitted to the court, as his irregular mode of life placed impossible barriers in the way of social intercourse. But Gustavus contributed liberally towards easing his pecuniary difficulties. Actuated by the same genuine interest the king attracted to his circle great artists, e. g. Sergel, the sculptor, and Adelcrantz, the architect.[1] Nor did the king neglect the drama, but took a leading part in acting and staging plays before the court. Science interested him less than art, but he was by no means indifferent to the advancement of science, and the university of Uppsala had in him a generous benefactor.

The court of Gustavus III presented an attractive and imposing spectacle, but it had also its dark sides. The king's munificence made far greater inroads on the public purse than was justified by the financial position of the

[1] Many Swedish artists of this period were well known outside the borders of Sweden: *Nils Lafrensen* the younger (1737—1807), known in Paris as *Lavreince*, lived for many years in France, his work consisting chiefly in exquisite drawing-room scenes painted in *gouache* or body colour, and in miniature portraits. *Peter Adolf Hall* (1739—1793) was a celebrated miniature painter, and spent a considerable part of his life in Paris. *Alexander Roslin* (1718—1793) resided in France from the middle of the eighteenth century and earned a large fortune as a portrait painter to the French aristocracy. His young relative *Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller* (1751—1812) began his career in Paris and settled towards the end of the eighteenth century in the United States of America. At the request of Gustavus III he painted a portrait of Marie Antoinette and her children. This portrait and a later one of George Washington belong probably to Wertmüller's most celebrated pictures. *Michael Dahl*, another Swedish portrait painter (1666—1743), made England his home, and *Karl Fredrik von Breda* (1759—1811) was a student of Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose portrait he painted. Von Breda is considered to be one of the foremost Swedish portrait painters, and after his return to his native country, was frequently employed by the Swedish aristocracy.

country. Bitter feuds occasionally divided the members of the royal house. The dowager queen had always found it difficult to forgive her son for having acquired an influence which she had herself so long and fruitlessly laboured to attain. She accused Gustavus of ingratitude, and inspired his younger brothers and sister with her own bitter feelings. The relations between Gustavus and his queen, Sophia Magdalena of Denmark, were also very unhappy. When the queen bore a son, rumour would have it that he was not legitimate. The dowager queen helped to spread this ugly report against her own son and daughter-in-law, and the scandal threw a dark shadow over the life of Gustavus and of his son. The personal attendants of the king were not always well chosen and he allowed frivolous and adventurous flatterers to come to the front. Although weaknesses of this description were well known to the initiated, and criticized by them, they seldom found their way to the general public. The great mass of the people, therefore, gave Gustavus all the homage which he so ardently desired.

The popularity of the king was increased by his endeavours to reform the political and social evils which had prevailed during the past era. Gustavus instituted strict enquiries into the administration of judges and other government officials and, aided by public opinion, put an end to bribery, negligence and insubordination. A better spirit began to permeate Swedish official life, although it was impossible during the short reign of Gustavus III to correct all obvious defects. A good beginning, however, was made in bringing responsibility and discipline into the administration and justice and fair play into the law courts.

The measures by which the financial confusion of the preceding epoch was remedied, were received with special

gratitude by the public. The chief credit of this reform was due to Liljencrantz, the king's financial adviser. In 1777 he prepared and carried through a process of stabilisation whereby depreciated paper money was called in and redeemed at a reduced price. For some time onward a fixed rate of exchange was secured, which made sound business possible, instead of the adventurous speculations of the period of inflation. This state of affairs, however, did not last long. A far more strict economy than Gustavus III was capable of exercising would have been needed to maintain the financial equilibrium. Although the king's journeys, the national defence and foreign affairs made excessive demands on the public purse, Gustavus would not agree to limit any such expenditure. The only way out was to borrow money, and this led easily to fresh and dangerous experiments with paper currency.

Gustavus spent large sums on defence, which had been badly neglected by former governments. Whenever the »Hats» or the »Caps» had been short of money, they had cut down the expenditure of the army and navy. They also regarded the importance of defence from a party point of view, varying their zeal according to the wishes of France or Russia, whichever power dominated for the moment. Throughout his reign, Gustavus acted consistently as regards foreign politics, and his keen reorganisation of Sweden's defence deserves the gratitude of posterity. He did not arm against any particular neighbour, but acted on the fundamental principle that Sweden could best safeguard her independence and maintain the respect of other powers by keeping up adequate defensive forces. Much labour was spent on improving the army and on strengthening the fortresses, but Gustavus made special efforts to render the navy more efficient than it had been for a long time.

The aim of Gustavus III was to put an end to party strife, to repudiate Sweden's dependence on foreign powers, and to carry on an honourable and advantageous foreign policy. Immediately after his Revolution, everything seemed to go according to his wishes. We have already spoken of the enthusiasm which greeted the change of government. The disappearance of the party names of »Hats» and »Caps» was perhaps less the result of the king's prohibiting the use of these terms, than of a shamefaced reaction against the often disreputable methods of the old political parties. There was no guarantee, however, that party conflicts would not reappear. The Constitution adopted in 1772 was framed so as to restore the form of government which had existed during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus and his immediate successors, before either the monarch or the Estates had in turn assumed absolute power. It was somewhat ambiguously worded, leaving undefined the rights of the Estates to legislate and to levy taxes. When the Estates in 1778 and 1786 insisted on exercising these ancient prerogatives, the king showed his displeasure. Gustavus did not realize that after half a century of continuous political training, the Estates must necessarily be a far more important factor in the State than they had been in the reign of Charles XI. Neither did he recognize that a free Press, which he tolerated up to a point, must insist on a free representation. When he therefore exhibited undue irritation and displeasure, his unwise utterances were skilfully used by those who still hoped to restore the supreme authority of the Estates. Such desires were entertained chiefly by the nobility. Many noblemen resented the fact that their own order no less than the rest of the Estates had been deprived of political influence by the Revolution. Gustavus was quite willing to grant the nobles all possible social honours, but he had no intention

of sharing his power with them. The divergent views held by the king on the one hand and the nobility on the other were in time to lead to a serious conflict, intensified by outside disturbances.

The foreign policy of Gustavus III during the decade following on the revolution of 1772 was entirely successful. He conducted it himself, and had by his side an excellent and experienced foreign minister, Ulrik Scheffer. The king's primary aim was to neutralize the danger threatening the country from the Russian coalition, which had agreed to maintain the power of the Swedish Estates (p. 336). It was no easy matter, for Catherine II highly resented the Swedish revolution, and urged her allies to intervene. But Gustavus had chosen a fortunate moment for his *coup*. Catherine had just then her hands tied in Turkey and Poland, and was therefore unable to give effect to her angry protests. With the moral support of France behind him, Gustavus felt convinced that under the circumstances Frederick II would confine himself to threats, and that Denmark would not dare to act. The king was correct in his calculations, and the storm blew over, but Catherine never forgave Gustavus for thwarting her scheme. She always remained hostile to the Swedish monarch, and all his efforts to mollify her wrath were fruitless. He must therefore expect Catherine to renew her attempts at interference in Swedish domestic affairs as soon as a favourable opportunity occurred. This, however, did not prevent Sweden from cooperating with Russia when the occasion demanded.

Such an emergency arose during the American War of Independence, when France and Spain ranged themselves on the side of the North American colonies against England. France, who desired to be revenged on her old enemy, England, expected Sweden to come to her support,

prompted by gratitude for previous favours. Although Gustavus III appreciated the subsidies he had received from France, he did not wish to take part in a maritime war, in which Swedish interests were not actually at stake, but which would instead expose Sweden to the risk of having her overseas trade ruined. As both the conflicting parties acted without the least consideration for neutrals, searching and capturing their vessels and employing privateers, all the non-combatant powers had identical interests in adopting measures to protect their shipping against attack. The idea of such a combination of neutral powers arose almost simultaneously in Sweden and Denmark. The Danes were most anxious to obtain protection against France and her allies, while the Swedes were chiefly opposed to the English method of carrying on naval warfare. Gustavus III hoped to form a general alliance, similar to previous coalitions of armed neutrality (p. 289), and negotiated to this end with both Denmark and Russia. Early in the war, the three northern powers insisted on their right to trade as neutrals, and Gustavus III backed these reasonable demands by providing Swedish merchant vessels with powerful naval escorts. He found to his satisfaction that his representations met with increasing respect by the belligerents. In 1780, Sweden, Denmark and Russia agreed by separate treaties to protect neutral shipping by armed force. The three powers laid down what they considered as the fundamental rights of neutrals in naval warfare: neutral vessels should have the right to carry on coastal trade with the belligerent powers; neutral flags should be a protection for all goods except contraband of war; the meaning of the term »contraband» was to be interpreted in accordance with existing treaties; and, finally, a blockade of harbours should be legitimate and respected only when it was effectively maintained. It was hardly to be expected that these

principles would be accepted, but the strong naval forces backing the demands compelled the conflicting parties to exercise greater caution in their treatment of neutrals. The principles of *armed neutrality,* based on tentative rules of earlier date, have ever since this period been regarded as important points of international law. Their practical application during actual naval warfare, however, has not been in harmony with the theoretical recognition afforded them in times of peace. Swedish sympathies during this war were undoubtedly on the side of France and its allies. Various Swedish officers enlisted in the French auxiliary forces destined for North America or joined the French navy as volunteers. The preliminaries of peace were scarcely over before Sweden concluded a treaty of amity and of commerce with the new power — the United States of North America.

Henceforth the foreign policy of Gustavus III became distinctly more adventurous. While upholding the policy of armed neutrality during the world war, he had found Denmark unreliable. She seemed prepared to revive her old enmity against Sweden, and to cooperate with Russia. In 1783—1784, when Catherine II was occupied by her Oriental policy, Gustavus planned to make an effective naval attack on Denmark, but was restrained by the Russian threat of going to war. Russian hostility to the Swedish régime became more noticeable still during the *Riksdag* of 1786, when the nobility, who opposed the king, were subsidized by the Russian minister in Stockholm. At the same time, discontented Swedish subjects in the Finnish frontier districts began negotiations with St. Petersburg. A younger brother of Sprengtporten, Gustavus' associate in his revolution, entered Russian service, and began to use his influence on his fellow malcontents at home. Gustavus III decided, if possible, to sever these suspicious connec-

tions and, at the same time, to win military glory in a war against Russia. He found, as he thought, a favourable opportunity when, in 1787, Russia once more declared war against Turkey.

The main forces of Russia were engaged on the Turkish frontier, so that the moment for the Swedish attack was well chosen. Gustavus hoped to obtain assistance from England and Prussia, and thought that Denmark could be persuaded to remain neutral. These calculations were too sanguine, however, for England and Prussia were not prepared to give any effective help, while Denmark steered in the wake of Russian policy. The success of the war, therefore, depended on the push of the initial summer campaign in 1788. Gustavus' plan was to crush the Russian navy, and then proceed to attack the weak defences of St. Petersburg. In spite of courageous and, on the whole, victorious encounters, the Swedish navy was unable to carry out its task. When, immediately afterwards, the land forces under the king's command were ordered to advance, the officers belonging to aristocratic families threatened to mutiny.

The war was undoubtedly offensive, but, according to the Swedish constitution, the king could not attack a foreign power without the consent of the Estates. The king was loudly accused by the opposition of violating the constitution. Others, again, though loyal to the king, feared that he had thrown himself and the country into dangerous adventures which must necessarily lead to disaster. These feelings increased in strength when the naval operations did not have the desired effect. While the excitement of war thus began to weaken, the opposition increased in strength, and the officers formed the so-called Anjala-League, for the express purpose of compelling the king to make peace and call a *Riksdag*. Behind this

conspiracy even more alarming schemes were put forward as a result of Sprengtporten's treacherous machinations among his Finnish friends. Surrounded by disloyal and aggressive opponents and by timid friends, Gustavus was placed in a most difficult position, even his personal safety being threatened.

At this critical juncture the news came that Denmark had attacked Sweden. Far from being discouraged, however, Gustavus recognized that this new danger was indeed his salvation. He could now appeal to the patriotic feelings of his people. He hastened back to Sweden and was greeted with an outburst of popular enthusiasm. The nobility, however, demanded that a *Riksdag* should be summoned to deal with the situation. Without listening to their requests, the king made his way to Dalarna where he, not entirely free from acting the part of a stage hero, assumed the *rôle* of Gustavus Vasa, stirring the people to a national fight against their old enemy. A wave of patriotism spread from Dalarna to other parts of the country, and the king proceeded south, everywhere being greeted as the saviour of the nation. Gustavus arrived in Göteborg just when this city was threatened by the enemy. He took immediate steps to place Göteborg in a position of defence. In the various provinces volunteer troops were raised and provided with arms, and thence despatched to the defence of the western frontier. The national ardour of the Swedes did not fail to impress the Danes, who had gone to war in a half-hearted fashion. Taking advantage of this situation, Hugh Elliot, the English ambassador in Copenhagen, made strong representations in the interests of peace. He prevailed on the Danish commander-in-chief to agree to an armistice which, after being prolonged, ended in a treaty of peace. Elliot had done Gustavus signal service, but without the king's own determined action, and without

the generous response of the Swedish peasantry, English mediation could not have accomplished as much. Gustavus was therefore with reason hailed as the saviour of his country, and from this moment his royal prestige was restored.

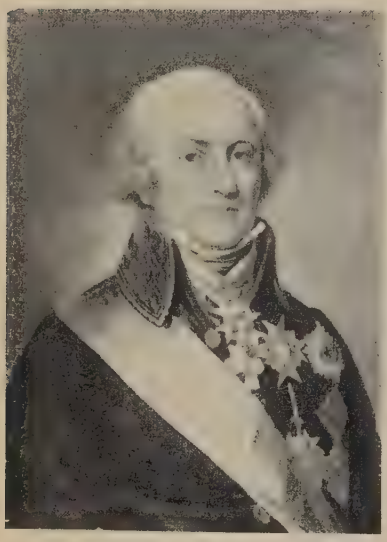
Having thus recovered his authority and won the loyal support of the majority of his subjects, particularly in the metropolis, Gustavus summoned the *Riksdag*. The situation had so changed, however, that instead of enquiring into the king's foreign and domestic policy, as the nobility had demanded, the Estates actually strengthened Gustavus' personal authority and made it possible for him to begin the operations against Russia with renewed vigour. During the *Riksdag* of 1789 he encountered bitter opposition from the numerous assembled nobles, who did everything in their power to defeat the king's plans. If not as treacherous, their behaviour was quite as futile as that of the Anjala League. The grave national danger demanded above all unity of purpose, and Gustavus cleverly appealed to the sense of duty among the common people. Supported by the unprivileged orders, he succeeded by a series of unconstitutional and violent measures in breaking the opposition of the nobility. He further obtained increased power, and gained the sanction of the Estates for continuing the Russian war. It seems like the irony of fate that Gustavus, who from the first had been a more ardent friend of the nobility than any other Swedish king, was thus led to undermine their power and to favour the commoners. It is strange, too, that his second revolution occurred in 1789, only a few months before the French revolution began its violent attacks on the monarchy, which had loyally supported the Swedish king during his whole reign. Nothing illustrates better the clear-sighted political judgment of Gustavus III than his readiness to take great risks when

Gustavus III (King 1771—92).

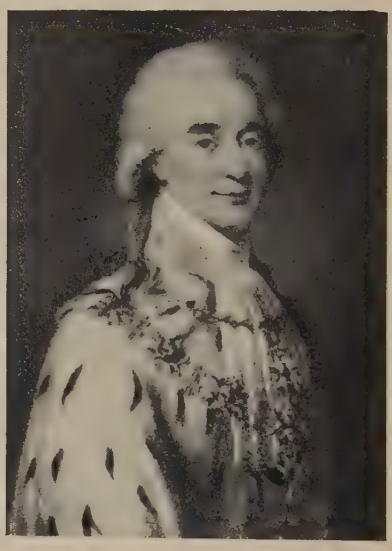
Portrait in pastel by L. Pasch the younger.

1.

2.



3.



4.

1. Gustavus Adolphus IV (King 1792—1809). Portrait by Huet Villers. 2. Charles XIII (King 1809—18). Engraving by A. O. Mörner. 3. Count C. J. Adlercreutz (b. 1757, d. 1855), General, one of the leaders of the revolution in 1809. Portrait by C. von Breda. 4. Count Axel von Fersen the younger, Riksmarskalk or earl-marshal (b. 1755, d. 1810). Portrait by C. von Breda.

they seemed necessary, even at the loss of many personal friends among the nobility. In punishing his opponents, Gustavus showed great moderation, sometimes too great. He pardoned, for instance, all the traitorous members of the Anjala League with one exception.

Gustavus resumed now with new vigour the campaign against Russia. The Russians were no longer taken by surprise, however, and their troops were strong enough to resist the Swedish offensive. In the summer of 1790 Gustavus unwisely let the navy anchor in the Gulf of Viborg, and found the way out blocked by Russian men-of-war. The Swedish navy with the king on board barely managed to escape, sustaining serious loss in the affair. Shortly afterwards, however, the Swedish navy won a brilliant victory at Svensksund (July, 1790)[1] which made St. Petersburg much more inclined to peace than before. Gustavus expected no more than an honourable peace, and welcomed an opportunity of ending the war. Hostilities ceased in the summer of 1790, the Swedish frontiers remaining unchanged.

Although the results of the war did not correspond to the king's expectations, the struggle had not been altogether in vain. Sweden had proved herself a match for the powerful Russian Empire, and instead of being treated with contempt she had won the respect of that power. Gustavus had further succeeded in establishing a recognized limit, beyond which none of his subjects could go in their dealings with Russia without being guilty of treachery. From that time Russian machinations in the Swedish *Riksdag* were therefore at an end.

The changed attitude of the Russian government was revealed in a definite way. Both Catherine and Gustavus

[1] Sir William Sidney Smith, afterwards the well-known English Admiral, fought with distinction in this naval battle.

were indignant at the excesses of the French revolution; both were anxious to check its influence and to restore the throne to the Bourbons. In order to attain these ends, an alliance was concluded between the two countries in the autumn of 1791, by which Gustavus promised to lead an expedition to France. This bold plan was never carried out, but hastened instead the fate of the Swedish monarch.

For the days of Gustavus III were already numbered. Ever since the stormy *Riksdag* of 1789 the Swedish nobility entertained a bitter hatred against the king. This was especially the case among a number of the younger aristocrats who, fired by the battle cry of the French revolutionists, imagined that the Swedish nobility was also fighting in the cause of liberty and justice. These hotheads were joined by men who had personal grievances against Gustavus, and also by some whose chief aim was to restore the long lost freedom of the previous epoch, when the Estates ruled supreme. Among such political malcontents there was no difficulty in finding impetuous individuals, prepared to commit any deed of violence, especially when it was found that the »Swedish tyrant» entertained aggressive designs against the newly acquired freedom of the French nation. A group of young noblemen, most of them belonging to the oldest aristocratic families of the country, combined for the purpose of making away with the king. On the 16th of March, 1792, Gustavus III fell by the hand of an assassin at a masquerade at the Opera House. He died on the 29th of March, hated and beloved, despised and admired, a remarkable man and, in spite of his many failings, a great king.

* *
*

Gustavus fell at a time when the French revolution threatened to shake the whole of Europe. The reign of his

son and successor was to pass by before the upheavals of the age had begun to settle down.

The loss of Gustavus III was a serious misfortune to Sweden, especially in such a disturbed era. His idea of leading an anti-revolutionary crusade was no doubt ostentatious and, from the point of view of Swedish interests, it mattered little that it came to nought. In other respects, Gustavus' skilful policy was seriously missed, especially his diplomatic relations with Russia. It had been the intention of Gustavus to assume the same independent attitude towards Russia as he had already done towards France; he wanted friendship on equal terms. After the death of Gustavus, however, there was no one capable of continuing his policy. The Swedish government vacillated between foreign connections which were diametrically opposed to each other, thus losing the respect which Gustavus had gained for his country. In opposition to the policy of the new rulers of Sweden, the surviving friends and admirers of Gustavus III — usually called »Gustavians» — adhered to his desire for cooperation with Russia, without considering the danger of undue interference by that power. The result was an increasing feeling of impotence, which was especially marked in Finland, that part of the Swedish dominions most exposed to Russian invasion. Many Finlanders began to think that resistance against Russia would be useless in the long run, and this conviction became stronger and more widely spread in proportion as other causes of dissatisfaction with the home government increased. Unfortunately, the character of the new king was not calculated to dispel such sentiments and fears.

At the death of his father, Gustavus Adolphus IV was thirteen years of age, and until the autumn of 1796 he remained under the guardianship of his uncle, Duke Charles. Gustavus IV was the very opposite of his father in

ability, interests and manners. He had grown up amid the strictest court etiquette and was therefore correct and even pedantic in his attention to outward form. He was orderly, economical and painstaking in his duties as a king, and the almost absolute power which he inherited from his father proved too heavy a burden for his young shoulders. He considered it his duty, in an age of revolutionary disorganization, to carry on the government of the country himself, although both in experience and in judgment he was unequal to the task. He ruined his nerves by incessant toil and was exposed to the secret censure of his subjects, not only for the faults he himself committed, but also on account of the errors and the neglect of his counsellors.

Gustavus Adolphus IV had the good fortune — or misfortune, perhaps — to be hailed with enthusiasm when he came of age. His uncle, the regent, a well-meaning but weak man, who made a foolish hobby of Freemasonry and other brotherhoods, had, during the reign of Gustavus III, wavered between supporting the king and going over to the aristocratic opposition. After the accession of the young king, the duke hesitated between an alliance with revolutionary France, or with autocratic Russia. This indecision fanned the flames of insurrection among the Gustavians, urging on the treacherous plan of Armfelt and others to bring over Russian troops in order to overthrow the government. Fortunately, the plot was discovered in time and the instigators punished. The regent became in the end so terrified at the threats of Russian interference that he threw himself entirely at the mercy of Catherine II, promising to seal the friendship by a matrimonial alliance between her grand-daughter and the young king. The Swedish royal family sailed to St. Petersburg and everything was arranged for the wedding festivities. Not content with the promise given to the princess of free exercise of her religion, the Russians demand-

ed at the last moment further concessions, allowing regular services according to the Greek Church. Gustavus IV refused his consent to these demands which he considered to be at variance with Swedish law. No persuasions, no fear of scandal, not even his personal attachment to the young princess, could induce him to act against his conscience in this respect. The marriage therefore did not take place, and Catherine's anger was so great that there would have been imminent danger of war, had not her sudden death put an end to the dispute. In Stockholm, on the other hand, the steadfastness of the young king was greeted with applause, and the inhabitants of the capital gave him an enthusiastic reception on his return home.

Having now reached his majority, Gustavus assumed the duties of government. No one could have been more anxious to perform them well. But at a time of exceptional political stress, an upright character without intellectual ability was insufficient to guide the destinies of a kingdom. In 1796—97 the military power of Napoleon Buonaparte rose out of the *débris* of the French revolution, threatening the peace of Europe. No country altogether escaped the violent reactions of the ensuing struggles on land and sea. War, dislocation of trade, domestic unrest, were only different aspects of the general political upheaval.

In Sweden there was a marked change in public opinion. The old aristocratic opposition, dating from the days of Gustavus III, lost all sympathy for the French revolutionaries as their real aims became evident. But among the younger men of different classes of society, both nobles and commoners, many became intoxicated by the French ideals of liberty, which, viewed from a distance, exercised a fascinating influence on these political idealists. Men like Järta and Adlersparre belonged to this school of thought, and to their number were added young officers, burning

with desire to take part in the miraculous exploits of Napoleon and his generals. Though a lately reintroduced censorship prevented the Swedish press from publishing revolutionary ideas, they became widely spread within the more intellectual circles of the community. The clumsy attempts of the government to stop this propaganda merely added fuel to the fire. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the policy pursued by Gustavus IV was severely criticized.

Gustavus married Princess Wilhelmina of Baden, whose sister was the wife of the future Tsar Alexander I of Russia. These family ties, combined with political considerations, influenced Gustavus against revolutionary France. At first he had opposed the high-handed naval policy of Great Britain and, together with the Emperor Paul of Russia and the Danish government, had reasserted the rights of neutrals to protect their commerce. This alliance, however, was broken up by two almost simultaneous events, the battle of Copenhagen and the murder of the Russian tsar (1801). During the brief period of peace that followed the treaty of Amiens, Gustavus gradually altered his opinions. He became convinced that, in the next war, Sweden should in her own interest join the enemies of France, i.e. Russia, and especially England. Unfortunately, he was influenced in his politics by the exaggerated religious ideas current at the time. He saw in the French revolution and in Napoleon the fulfilments of apocalyptic terrors and took a violent hatred to both, deeming it almost a religious duty to fight them with all his might. This hatred of Napoleon developed almost into fanaticism and blinded him to practical considerations of vital importance during these years of rapid political change. The flattering praise of French immigrants in honour of his constancy, no less than the lurking criticism of his subjects, strengthened his determination.

Gustavus joined in the coalition of 1805 against France,

but his campaign in Pomerania brought him only reverses and disgrace. After Jena and Friedland the situation was completely changed. Prussia was sacrificed, and Alexander and Napoleon, once sworn enemies, fell into each other's arms. The treaty of Tilsit brought Russia and France temporarily together in an alliance against England. Gustavus IV was not prepared to participate in these surprising changes of policy. He remained the sole ally of England against France, and was made to pay for his stubbornness when Russia and Denmark, at the instigation of Napoleon, declared war on Sweden in the winter of 1808. The danger was indeed great, for, in addition to these two formidable foes, an auxiliary French army was to attack Sweden. That her enemies' intentions might be to divide Sweden between them was a reasonable assumption.

In this hour of need Sweden had no other ally than England. Having seized the entire Danish fleet in 1807, the English navy combined with the Swedish naval forces and prevented a descent of the enemy on Skåne, while English troops arrived in Gothenburg. Their presence amounted to no more than a demonstration, for Gustavus IV quarrelled with his allies on the question of command and the British troops never set foot on Swedish soil. England's support resulted, however, in restricting Danish operations to insignificant movements along the Norwegian frontier, directed against Swedish attempts to make conquests in Norway, at that time a Danish dependency. The situation in the east was, however, more serious.

The Swedish representative in St. Petersburg had repeatedly warned the Swedish government of Russian preparations for war, but his warnings had been almost unheeded. When therefore the Russians poured into Finland in February 1808, the Swedish defences were inadequate. The Swedish commander-in-chief was unsuitable for his respon-

sibilities and evacuated the whole of southern Finland without a blow. The army retired by forced winter marches to the northern coast. The intention was to arrange a combined attack by the Swedish army and navy in the coming summer, when troops from Sweden should be landed in the south, and the Finnish army in the north should again move southwards. But the unfortunate retreat had left the country open to the invaders, and cowardice and treachery grew apace. The powerful fortress of Sveaborg was betrayed into the hands of the Russians, and this blow dashed the hopes of recovering Finland. In the following spring and summer the Swedish land forces moved southwards, and heroic efforts were made to check the Russian advance. A number of minor victories were won by men, Adlercreutz and others, whose valiant deeds still live in Runeberg's poems. But it was all in vain. In the late autumn Finland was evacuated, and in the winter of 1809 the Finnish Estates, assembled at Borgå, proclaimed the Emperor Alexander Grand Duke of Finland and swore him allegiance. The Russians now planned to attack the mainland of Sweden with two armies, one advancing along the main roads from the north-east and the other moving across the frozen Gulf of Bothnia.

The chief blame of this disaster falls undoubtedly on Gustavus IV. But the fault was not his alone. In Finland a cowardice bordering on treachery crippled the defence, while in Sweden an insidious opposition, censuring and ridiculing the king, created an unfavourable atmosphere and paralysed even useful measures. No one could be less suited than Gustavus IV to combat such disintegrating forces with success. He had no power of inspiring confidence and enthusiasm, and his solitary self-sufficiency prevented him from appreciating the changing temper of his subjects. Undoubtedly, the majority of Swedes were still loyal, but under the pressure of constant disasters, even his faithful

subjects began to feel anxious and despondent. Many insisted that the only salvation for the country was to remove the king from the throne.

Gustavus IV had created many and bitter enemies among the army officers by his pedantic and unreasonable treatment, and many of them were therefore eager to depose him. They were joined by a group of radical politicians who agitated for greater freedom and were inclined towards a policy of friendship with Napoleon. As the terrors of war were constantly drawing nearer during the winter of 1809, the capital resembled a buzzing hive, filled as it was with conspiring lieutenants and civil servants, who framed and rejected one plan after another, aiming at the arrest of the king. In the end Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre determined to take action. Having been in command of an army corps on the Norwegian borders, he was now stationed in Värmland. In the beginning of March he moved his troops in order to »save the country», and marched on Stockholm. On being informed of this move, Gustavus IV determined to hasten to the army in Skåne in order to resist the western army. In this emergency a few officers, headed by General Adlercreutz, stepped in. They hurried to the palace on the 13th March, 1809, arrested the king, and persuaded his uncle, Duke Charles, to act as regent.

This military *coup* could not alone settle the problems of government. The group of radical idealists succeeded in having the Estates called together for the double purpose of giving the land a new constitution and a new king. The *Riksdag*, which met in May, declared Gustavus IV and his line deposed and proceeded, in cooperation with the Duke-Regent, to frame a new Constitution, which was approved on the 6th of June 1809. The same day Charles was made king of Sweden under the name of Charles XIII. In addition the *Riksdag* adopted detailed improvements of the new

constitution, and elected a successor to the frail and childless old king. Gustavus IV and his family were conveyed to Germany, the queen returning to her relations in Baden, while the deposed king began his wandering life, often in poverty and distress, his mind growing feebler as the years passed. His only son, Prince Gustavus of Vasa, entered Austrian service.

The new Swedish government expected less from its own troops than from the goodwill of Napoleon, and now that his bitter enemy was no longer on the throne, hastened to invoke his favour. Napoleon answered their supplications by referring them to the benevolence of Alexander. Further attempts to accomplish something by force of arms were almost entire failures, and in the end the government lost all hope and accepted the peace dictated by Russia. The treaty was signed at Fredrikshamn in September 1809, when the whole of Finland as far as Torne Älv, and the Åland Islands were given up to Russia. The Swedish government henceforth dutifully obeyed the behests of France, broke off its commercial and political connections with England and took part in the continental blockade of English goods, decreed by Napoleon. So great was Swedish admiration for Napoleon that when the crown prince suddenly died, the emperor's wish was decisive in the choice of a successor to Charles XIII.

The Swedish *Riksdag* had in 1809 elected a prince of Holstein heir to the throne. He had before acted as Danish regent in Norway, and it was hoped that by his mediation Norway might be united to Sweden. Shortly after his arrival in Sweden, however, the prince had a sudden stroke and died instantly. In consequence of this event, it seemed not improbable that a coming *Riksdag* might be persuaded to make amends for the injustice committed against the son of Gustavus IV by electing him crown prince. No choice was

more feared by the revolutionaries who had dethroned the father. They refrained from contradicting rumours that the death of the late crown prince was due to poison administered by friends of the former royal family, the noble family of von Fersen being mentioned as especially compromised. When the funeral procession of the crown prince was passing through Stockholm, Count Axel von Fersen,[1] who held the highest dignity at court, was attacked by the mob and murdered, while the authorities responsible for public order did not even attempt to hinder it. This foul deed banished for the moment every thought of reinstating the former dynasty, but it was necessary for the revolutionary party to act swiftly, while their opponents were still paralyzed with horror and dismay. The government in Stockholm had several candidates ready to hand, and ordered its minister in Paris to ascertain Napoleon's opinion. One of the messengers despatched on the occasion, a young lieutenant Mörner, took the bold step of acting on his own responsibility. Like many of his fellow officers he was an ardent admirer of Napoleonic militarism, and thought that one of the world-famed French generals ought to be made crown prince of Sweden. He gained admission to Marshal Bernadotte, who was already known in the north. Bernadotte was tempted by the proposal which also flattered Napoleon, though he would hardly have made this particular choice among his generals. The emperor did not give a definite approval, but Bernadotte felt himself at liberty to take secret steps to advance his own candidature. The feeling in Sweden was at first one of astonishment and anger at the impertinent action of the young officer. Public opinion soon changed, however. It was imagined that

[1] Axel von Fersen, son of the »Hat» leader of the same name, was as a young man cavaliere serviente to the unhappy Queen Marie Antoinette and organized the abortive attempt of the French royal family to escape. This attempt ended in their recapture at Varennes, 1791.

Bernadotte was the man whose election would be most acceptable to Napoleon and that, under his rule, Sweden would begin a new and glorious era in alliance with the dictator of the world. At the *Riksdag* of Örebro (August 1810) Marshal Bernadotte was unanimously elected heir to the Swedish throne.

The choice was far more significant than anyone dreamed at the moment, but not in the particular way it was expected. During the wars of the revolution Bernadotte had made his way from the rank of a non-commissioned officer to the position of a general and then of a marshal of France. He was also related by marriage to Napoleon, but did not belong to the emperor's friends. Bernadotte's independent and ambitious spirit made him distasteful to a ruler who demanded unquestioned obedience. Bernadotte seems to have entertained doubts as to the future of the brilliant Napoleonic empire, and possibly on this account held a little aloof from the immediate surroundings of the emperor. On his arrival in Sweden he was greeted as the Crown Prince Charles John. He did not fulfil the expectations of the radical party in linking the fate of himself and his new country to that of Napoleon. He immediately took over the government from the hands of the feeble King Charles XIII. His first task was to follow with close attention the varying phases of international politics, maintaining friendly relations everywhere, but he intended, at the right moment, to support the cause of the victors. Like all other wide-awake diplomats of the period, Bernadotte entertained no doubt that the position of Napoleon and of France would some time be exposed to serious attack.

Napoleon himself took steps to ensure that Sweden should delay her decision as little as possible. He grew impatient with the contraband trade carried on by English ships in the Swedish dominions, and in 1811 forced the

Swedish government to declare war against England. When he observed that the two countries regarded the declaration of war as an empty threat, he ordered his troops in 1812 to occupy Swedish Pomerania. This happened at a time when the long postponed conflict between Napoleon and Alexander broke out into open war. Sweden, therefore, saw a chance of renewed political cooperation with England and Russia, which Gustavus IV had once hoped for. Charles John felt convinced that the interests of Sweden, and of himself, would be best served by a coalition with these two powers. In the course of the year 1812 he developed intense diplomatic activity in this direction. By alliances between Sweden, Russia and England the foundations were laid of a new and mighty league against Napoleon. Prussia and Austria joined in 1813, and when Napoleon's campaign in Russia had ended in complete disaster, the new coalition proceeded to divest the emperor of his glory. In the early negotiations, when a French invasion appeared most menacing, Alexander was probably prepared to pay for the cooperation of Sweden by the restoration of Finland. Napoleon had made the same tempting offer, which coincided with the wish of the majority of the Swedish people. But Charles John regarded Finland as an obstacle to a real and lasting peace with Russia, and contemplated instead the conquest of Norway. He demanded in return for his diplomatic and military services that Norway should be divorced from her union with Denmark and instead united with Sweden. The treaties which he concluded with the other members of the European coalition guaranteed to him this territorial expansion.

There is no need to give an account of the campaigns against Napoleon in 1813 and 1814, and of Sweden's share in them. Crown Prince Charles John exercised a considerable influence on the military operations of the allies up

to the decisive battle of Leipzig. After this event his position became difficult, for, with the downfall of Napoleon, a reaction set in against the emperor's reigning satellites. There was just a possibility that the Swedish crown prince, also he a son of the revolution, might be forced to renounce his position. Norway had not yet been handed over to Sweden in conformity with the solemn assurances of the continental powers, and when therefore no more French opposition was to be expected on German soil, Charles John took matters into his own hands. He turned the forces under his command against Denmark and, overrunning the country, forced the Danes to accept the peace of Kiel in January 1814. They agreed to make over Norway to Sweden, receiving Swedish Pomerania in exchange.

But, for the moment, this agreement was merely a piece of paper. As Charles John returned with his army to the French theatre of war, the Norwegians themselves were eagerly working to establish an independent kingdom. When Napoleon's fall had been sealed by the peace of Paris in 1814, Charles John hastened to make sure of Norway. He invaded the country, which had no means of defending itself effectively against the Swedish forces. The Norwegians sent vain appeals for help to foreign powers, and in the end decided to conclude peace with Charles John on reasonable terms instead of running the risk of absolute defeat, followed by still harder conditions. Charles John himself was anxious to have everything settled before the meeting of the general peace congress in Vienna.

By the Convention of Moss (August 1814) it was agreed that the newly elected king of Norway should abdicate, and that Norway should be united to Sweden, but as a free country, governed by its own constitutional laws. Representatives of the people, the *Storting,* were summoned to Kristiania (now Oslo), revised the Norwegian constitution,

and after negotiations with Swedish representatives the new constitutional laws were passed on the 4th of November, 1814. Charles XIII was elected king of Norway, and Charles John was to be his successor also in Norway. The only alteration in these agreements made by the Congress of Vienna was that Swedish Pomerania was given to Prussia, Denmark receiving other compensation for her loss of Norway.

Sweden thus emerged from the revolutionary period with the loss of her last remaining possessions east of the Baltic, but linked up with Norway in a Scandinavian Union. More valuable to Sweden than this acquisition, however, was the recent adoption of stable constitutional laws.

SWEDEN DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1815—1905.

EUROPEAN HISTORY in the nineteenth century is characterized by two important developments. On the one hand, domestic politics in the different countries have developed on democratic lines, while, on the other, international politics have been practically decided by the great powers, acting in concert as a supreme council. The latter development has occurred *par la force des choses*. Only comparatively large and prosperous countries were able to bear the heavy burdens of the Napoleonic wars. At the peace congress the great powers therefore divided the spoil and assumed the task of maintaining the established order. The so-called Concert of Powers was a new development, as hitherto there had existed no central authority which might bring about a peaceful settlement of minor disputes. But, while thus relieving smaller states of certain responsibilities, the great Powers have at the same time necessarily had their political influence impeded by the steady growth of democracy. New methods of manufacture and immensely improved means of communication created modern industry and expanded international trade. Thus prosperity increased and sections of the community which had hitherto been in the background came to the front, demanding a

Charles XIV (King 1818—44).

Engraving by C. D. Forssell from a portrait by F. Gérard.

1.

2.

3.

4.

1. Charles XV (King 1859—72). Detail from a painting by G. von Rosen. 8. Oscar II (King 1872—1907). Photograph. 3. Baron Louis De Geer (b. 1818, d. 1896), Prime Minister 1858—70, 1875—80. Photograph. 4. Erik Gustaf Boström (b. 1842, d. 1907), Prime Minister 1891—1900, 1902—05. Photograph.

share in political influence. These claims received added weight as the people became better educated, and the problems of government necessarily grew more complex. It was relatively easy for the Concert of Powers to effect agreements with autocratically governed states, but negotiations with governments supported by the will of the people or pressed forward by impassioned public opinion, were far more uncertain. Europe has therefore not escaped serious political upheavals, differing in character, however, from the struggles of former epochs. Domestic conflicts have arisen in connection with the establishment of freer forms of government, and suppressed nationalities have frequently caused political ferment. The great powers themselves have also succumbed to the common temptation of extending their power and territory. Under such conditions those states have indeed been fortunate whose development has proceeded in a more peaceful atmosphere, or whose geographical position has placed them outside the lines of actual conflict. In both these respects Sweden has been most happily situated.

The changes brought about by the new Constitution of 1809 (p. 361) were the result of an honest effort to discover a golden mean between the unbridled rule of the Estates during the period of Freedom, and the autocratic government of Gustavus III. The aim was to establish a strong and independent government, constituted by the king and his responsible advisers in the Cabinet. But there was also a desire that the *Riksdag* should exercise its ancient rights to levy taxes, to participate in legislation and to exercise its constitutional power of control over the government. Under the influence of democracy during the past century the centre of gravity — as far as the actual power of government is concerned — has been transferred from the king to his advisers, and the influence exercised by the

Riksdag over the Cabinet has become greater than originally intended by the Constitution of 1809. This displacement of power, however, has been a gradual process and has occasioned no serious conflicts.

In 1818 old King Charles XIII died, and was succeeded by Charles XIV, with whom the dynasty of Bernadotte ascended the Swedish throne. It was considered doubtful on the continent whether Charles John would be able to retain his crown. These apprehensions were unfounded, for his strong personality and successful government had rendered his authority safe against attack. Charles XIV aimed at maintaining friendly relations with foreign powers, in order that the two Scandinavian countries might be free to develop their resources in peace. Since 1812 he had cooperated closely with the Emperor Alexander, and he strove to preserve friendship with Russia also after the end of the Napoleonic wars. Charles was against any Swedish subservience to this power, however, and endeavoured to strengthen national defence. He was also anxious to establish friendly relations with England, although this country more frequently than before began to oppose Russian policy.

The chief labours of the Swedish government were devoted to remedying the disasters which had befallen the country towards the close of the last epoch. The Swedish finances were again in a bad way, for the effect of the economic reform instituted by Gustavus III (p. 345) did not last long. During several periods of warfare the government had issued an excessive number of banknotes, thus again leading the country to financial confusion. The Bank of the Swedish Estates (the *Riksbank*) was put on a firm basis by special legislation, and a stabilization of the currency was carried out in 1834, whereby financial stability was permanently restored. Thanks to this new order, Sweden was able to take advantage of the improved economic standards

noticeable all over Europe. Swedish industry and commerce increased visibly, and prosperity and education with them, but the results of these manifold activities were not evident until later on, in the reign of Oscar I. All these factors contributed, in Sweden as elsewhere, to the more rapid advance of the unprivileged orders of Society.

In Sweden such a tendency was not new, for the Constitution of 1809 had abrogated the privileges of the nobility and, by restoring the liberty of the Press, had stimulated the political interest of the general public. Such events as the struggle for Greek independence, the French revolution of 1830 and the demand for parliamentary reform in England, awakened the interest of the public, and increased the number of readers of the daily papers. From now onwards, the press was becoming a real power in the country. *Aftonbladet* especially, which was started in 1830, gained a wide circulation and considerable influence, thanks to the promptitude with which important news was published, and also perhaps because of its critical attitude towards the government.

Opposition to Charles XIV caused perhaps a greater stir in the country than it deserved. The Swedish people admired their king and were grateful for his services, but they were nevertheless ready to give expression to severe criticism of his administration. As Charles never learned to speak Swedish, and therefore remained a stranger to the intellectual life of his people, so his excitable southern temperament was ever difficult for them to understand. After his early experiences of the French Revolution, which had swept away old-established landmarks and traditions, the king found it difficult to rely on the solidity of Swedish constitutional and local institutions. He was always apprehensive lest dissatisfied subjects or foreign powers should be at work to overthrow his dynasty. As his inadequate

knowledge of Swedish conditions, no less than his autocratic temperament, often prevented him from adhering to constitutional procedure, and as his advisers seldom had the courage to influence him in the right direction, his administration gave now and again cause for censure. Such criticisms were interpreted by Charles's vivid imagination as personal attacks directed against himself. In his exaggerated fears of disloyal intrigues, he attempted to muzzle the free press, but succeeded only in challenging the opposition to still more vigorous criticism. This press controversy was from beginning to end as undignified as it was useless. It ceased eventually, and friendly relations between king and people were restored during the last years of Charles's reign. When, in 1844, the romantic career of the old monarch came to a close, the whole Swedish nation united in sincere expressions of sorrow.

In two important matters, however, the opposition survived the reign of Charles XIV. One was the question of a more liberal trade legislation to replace the antiquated restrictions still prevailing in Sweden. The other was the composition and procedure of the *Riksdag*. Both these questions were brought forward during the reign of Oscar I, the son and successor of Charles XIV.

When Marshal Bernadotte was elected crown prince of Sweden, his son Oscar was eleven years old.[1] He was therefore quite young when he came to Sweden and learnt to know the people and the country. He did not possess the attractive personality of Charles XIV and, stiff and ceremonious in his manner, he seemed almost insignificant beside his father. He possessed a sound intellect, however, was highly cultured and exceptionally hard-working. He spent much of his time as crown prince in studying humanitarian

[1] His name was taken from the poems of Ossian, at the time of his birth (1799) very popular throughout Europe.

efforts on the continent, and became an ardent supporter of such urgent needs as popular education and drastic reform of the penal law and of the prisons. The impressions he had received from the opposition to his father had made Oscar rather too sensitive to criticism. His indifferent health, which still did not prevent him from acting as his own prime minister, may have added to his sensitiveness.

When Oscar I ascended the throne, reform of trade and fresh industrial legislation was called for and fairly soon adopted. It was impossible for Sweden to retain her eighteenth century system of carrying on business while great industrial developments were taking place abroad. The Swedish iron industry had once been most flourishing, and steel exported to England had long been the staple commodity of foreign trade. Now it had sunk to a low ebb. But to compensate for this loss, England's increasing demand for foreign timber gave rise to a large number of sawmills and so promoted a new national industry. In order to take advantage of these markets, it was essential to modify the laws regulating trade and commerce, a measure which had long been advocated. Compulsory membership of the guilds was repealed in 1846; many articles which had previously been prohibited from passing the Customs were now allowed to be exported and imported and many general business restrictions were removed. *Vivstavarv,* the first large sawmill, was built in 1851, and others soon followed. Private banks were also established, the first of the modern banks being *Stockholms Enskilda Bank,* founded by A. O. Wallenberg in 1856. At the same time the means of communication were improved, very largely owing to direct English impulses. Samuel Owen, a British civil engineer, was invited to Sweden, where he superintended the establishment of mechanical engineering works. It may be mentioned that in 1817 Owen constructed the

first Swedish steamship, and soon afterwards a lively steamboat traffic was being carried on along the Swedish coast and through the *Göta Canal*, which was opened in 1832. After careful study of the English railway system, A. E. von Rosen began in the forties to advocate that railways should be constructed also in Sweden. Nothing much was done until 1853—54, when the *Riksdag* decided to build the main lines with government capital, the work being placed in the hands of the energetic Swedish engineer, Nils Ericson. Next the electric telegraph was introduced. Complete liberty for trade and industry was at last established (in 1864), and by a treaty with France in 1865 the principles of Free Trade were recognized.

Reforms in constitutional legislation were not carried out with the same rapidity, however. The chief matter for decision was whether the composition of the *Riksdag* should be altered. The Swedish *Riksdag* still consisted of representatives of the four Estates — the nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants (see p. 232). At that time neither the nobles nor the clergy could rightly claim one fourth of the total voting power of the *Riksdag*. It was pointed out with justice that a national representation divided into four different sections with equal powers must be unnecessarily cumbersome. As the decisions arrived at by the *Riksdag* were frequently the result of chance, the reputation of the *Riksdag* was bound to suffer. Ever since the beginning of the thirties, liberal opinion in the country had demanded reform of the representation, and at the last *Riksdag* during the reign of Charles XIV, 1840—41, the demand was warmly supported by the opposition, whose efforts were indirectly strengthened by the revolutionary movements which broke out in many parts of Europe in February 1848. It was generally agreed that the representation must be reformed, but opinions differed so greatly

as to methods that for a long time no decision could be reached. Not until the *Riksdag* of 1865—66, during the reign of Oscar's son, was the old form of representation replaced by a new one. According to *1866 Års Riksdagsordning,* which in the main is still in force, the Swedish *Riksdag* consists of two Chambers, *Första* (First) *kammaren* and *Andra* (Second) *kammaren.* The members of the Upper or First Chamber represented large administrative areas, and were elected for a period of nine years by public bodies corresponding to County Councils and to Corporations of large cities. They must be thirty-five years of age and pay income tax on an income of at least 4,000 *kronor,* derived from capital or from work. They received no stipend. The members of the Lower or Second Chamber were voted for by the electorate by direct methods. They must have attained the age of twenty-five years and have a small income. They received a stipend and were elected for three years at a time. This reform was preceded by the adoption, in 1862, of several new so-called *Kommunallagar,* or regulations for local authorities. These laws provided a modern form for the self-governing municipal and rural councils of the community, established by age-long tradition.

Oscar I took an active part in the work of reform, no doubt encouraged by the liberal applause which greeted his accession to the throne. But his nervous temperament received a shock when he perceived the revolutionary activities on the continent during 1848, and during the latter part of his reign he inclined more and more to conservative views. In his foreign policy, however, he endeavoured to follow the wishes of the nation. Sweden was not entirely untouched by the tumultuous nationalistic movements on the continent. They found expression in what has been called *Scandinavism,* a movement endeavouring to create a better understanding between Swedes, Danes and Nor-

wegians. Undergraduates at all the Scandinavian Universities were some of the most enthusiastic supporters of the movement. Their ambitions carried them beyond the desire to establish personal and cultural intercourse in the direction of political cooperation. Oscar I gave his protection to this movement, which he hoped would ripen and bear fruit as time went on. In his imagination he anticipated a day when Denmark would be admitted to the Swedish-Norwegian union. Hard facts were before long to disillusion him and many others who had hoped that such things might come to pass. King Oscar supported the Danish interests during the revolt in Holstein in 1848—50, and took part in the conference arranged by the great powers in 1851—52, which endeavoured to settle the difficulties between Denmark, Schlesvig and Holstein.

Russia, and her autocratic ruler Nicholas I, viewed with disapproval the foreign policy of Oscar I. The friendly understanding which had long existed between the Swedish and Russian courts, began to cool. Various negotiations were in progress, especially concerning the wilds in the most northerly parts of Sweden, Norway and Finland, where the Lapps grazed their herds of reindeer. The Russians assumed an uncompromising attitude, which gave rise to Swedish apprehensions lest they should attempt to gain a footing on the shores of Varanger Fjord. A still more ominous sign was the erection of fortifications on the Åland Islands, threatening the archipelago of Stockholm. English diplomacy had long watched Russian designs on an ice-free harbour in Arctic waters, when the Crimean War broke out in 1853. By putting pressure on Sweden, Nicholas I hoped to prevail on her government to take up an attitude which, while being neutral, yet would favour Russian interests. Napoleon III and the English government on

the other hand did not neglect any opportunity of pointing out the Russian peril. Influenced by these warnings and also by the anti-Russian feeling in Sweden, Oscar I approached the western powers and concluded a treaty with them by which they guaranteed the integrity of Sweden and Norway against Russian attacks and demands. This was the so-called »November Treaty» (November 1855), which hastened Russia's decision to conclude peace. It created a certain tension in the relations between Sweden and her eastern neighbour.

Oscar I died in 1859, after a couple of years of physical and mental infirmity. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles XV, then thirty-three years old, a handsome and well built man. His lighthearted and kindly disposition excused in the eyes of the Swedish people his many failings as a ruler, and seldom has a king enjoyed greater popularity. He was indiscreet and impulsive, and the credit of useful developments during his reign was due less to the king himself than to his advisers, especially Louis De Geer and Gripenstedt. The former carried through important constitutional reforms, while the latter continued a progressive commercial and industrial policy. For some time Charles XV tried to pursue an independent course in relation to foreign powers, aiming at a union of the three Scandinavian countries. His diplomacy was somewhat irresponsible and amateurish, and would have led Sweden into war but for the blank refusal of the Cabinet to sanction it. Charles had given Denmark a promise of armed assistance in the event of a Prussian attack. When this actually happened in 1864, the Swedish king was bent on keeping his promise, but could not find any responsible advisers willing to support him. Many Swedish volunteers hastened to join the Danish army, but this did not take away the sting of disappointment felt in Denmark. The idealistic sentiments

and fine speeches had come to nothing, and the Scandinavian movement burst like a soap bubble. It had proved difficult to maintain the union already existing between Sweden and Norway; still less, therefore, could there be any reasonable hope of extending it.

Charles XV, whose health had been prematurely broken, died in 1872, and the crown was transferred to his younger brother, Oscar II (born 1829). The new king was highly gifted, both intellectually and artistically, loyal to his duty and earnest in his endeavours to carry out his motto, *Brödrafolkens väl* (»The welfare of the two sister nations»). His dearest wish was not fulfilled in the way he had hoped, i. e., by the consolidation of the union between Sweden and Norway. Perhaps the negative solution of this problem, which he reluctantly forced himself to accept, was best in keeping with the true purport of the motto.

The reign of Oscar II (1872—1907) covered a period which saw the fruition of the labours of the nineteenth century, and also the beginning of new growth, and new purposes. Liberalism reached its high water mark in Europe in the fifties and sixties, economically by the appearance of free trade and the abolition of restrictive laws for industry and commerce; constitutionally by the establishment of freer and increasingly democratic institutions; politically by the triumph of national emancipation, seen in the rise of a united Germany and Italy. It is true that Liberalism had not conquered everywhere. Many demands, especially for constitutional freedom, were left unsatisfied. German unity, for instance, had only been accomplished by the iron hand of Bismarck, compelling the various democratic movements in Germany to be subject to the conservative bureaucray of Prussia. New causes of discontent were not slow to appear, and liberal economists were severely criticized by the socialist movement, which

first of all in Germany was organized into a combative political party. Aware that their interests met with less consideration under the new régime agrarian and industrial groups in other countries also opposed the prevailing economic system. The seventies and the eighties were characterized by economic repression and stagnation, the results already obtained being sifted and consolidated and new energy accumulated for a fresh forward movement. The transition into modern commercialism was characterized by state intervention, protective duties, social legislation, and colonial programmes being some of the means adopted. During the nineties depression gave way to keen business enterprise, leading to the most intense form of industrialism that the world had hitherto witnessed. This development gave vast possibilities of work and increased affluence, but it fostered also the political and economic antagonisms which came to a head in the Great War.

In Swedish constitutional life, a displacement of power already carried out in practice, was theoretically acknowledged during this period. It had not been possible to maintain the individual authority of the king, adopted by the Constitution of 1809, whereby the cabinet advised, but the king decided. Such a system must necessarily develop into ministerial government although this change was delayed for a time, first by the autocratic impetuosity of Charles XIV, and afterwards by the untiring industry of Oscar I. At the *Riksdag* of 1840—41 a new problem was raised by the opposition. Until then, the king, in accordance with the Constitution, had followed his personal wishes in the choice of ministers. From this time it became established practice, that only ministers prepared to cooperate with the majority of the *Riksdag* should be appointed. Under the capricious rule of Charles XV, who wished to give the impression of governing without being

willing to apply the exertion necessary for such a task, Louis De Geer acted practically as prime minister, supported by the confidence of the *Riksdag*. The influence of the *Riksdag* was strengthened, when the old Estates consisting of four orders were replaced by two elective Chambers, meeting every year as against every three years. Always ready to conform to constitutional rules, Oscar II accepted this need for full confidence between the *Riksdag* and the Cabinet, and since his reign Swedish parliamentarianism has been an acknowledged fact. The Swedish party system has, however, been less organized than in many other countries, and this in addition to the fact that both Chambers are elected and invested with equal power, has modified Swedish parliamentarianism in certain respects. Changes of the Cabinet, for instance, have not always run the relatively simple course which is usual in other states enjoying parliamentary rule.

The chief political problems during the reign of Oscar II were direct reactions to continental developments. The prevailing economic depression made itself felt in Sweden also and led, as it did in Germany, to a revolt against the system of Free Trade and a demand for protection. During the eighties this question called forth an exceptionally heated controversy until the *Riksdag* of 1888 decided to adopt a policy of Protection. Sweden's national defence gave rise to another parliamentary contest, still more protracted but of a less violent nature. Foreign events made it imperative that Sweden should be prepared for the emergencies of war. The army needed to be strengthened and reorganized and provided with modern equipment, while the navy was too antiquated to be of any use. In spite of this, the farmers' representatives in the Lower Chamber stubbornly resisted these defence measures for reasons of economy. Their opposition was gradually over-

come by the efforts of especially E. G. Boström, for many years Prime Minister during the reign of Oscar II. The most difficult problem, however, was the union between Sweden and Norway.

The Swedes were not altogether satisfied with the union established in 1814, for they desired a constitutional union whereby Norway would become an integral part of Sweden, and so compensate for the loss of Finland. They hoped, however, that the agreement contracted with over much haste would be improved upon as time went on and better feelings prevailed. The Norwegians had quite a different point of view. They had reason to be satisfied with an agreement which gave them an independent position under a national Constitution, limiting the authority of the king. Their chief aim, therefore, was to defend this position against Swedish influence and to oppose any Swedish advances. While the Norwegians jealously guarded their isolation, they were quite willing to allow the Swedes to direct the foreign policy of the two countries, a right conceded to Sweden in 1814 as a matter of course. From the beginning of the seventies, however, the breezes of democracy began to blow more strongly also in Norway, and equality within the union became a favourite party cry. The Swedes were thus given a rude awakening from their dreams of closer cooperation. At first disinclined to listen to the demands, they suggested that extended rights must go hand in hand with increased obligations, as for instance in maintaining the fighting services. During the eighties and nineties a controversy regarding these questions was in progress. King Oscar did his utmost to find an acceptable compromise. But the two peoples, in spite of their common stock, had very little in common. Their institutions were different, so were also the economic conditions. Intellectually and politically they had developed

apart, Norway as a Danish dominion, Sweden as an independent kingdom with a decisive although shortlived influence on European history. No doubt a solution of the problems could have been arrived at, had both parties been convinced that a permanent union was essential to the future welfare of both nations. The agitation in Norway being more and more directed against the union as such, many Swedes began to consider whether a friendly separation were not the best way out. An attempt made by King Oscar in 1902 and the following years to come to an arrangement by which each country was to have its own consular service, while foreign affairs should be settled jointly, proved fruitless. In 1905 the Norwegians moved deliberately towards a rupture, and in June of that year they declared that the authority of the king had ceased in their country, a statement implying that Oscar II had been deposed. The Swedish people were more indignant with the methods than with the facts of the dissolution, and compelled Norway by threats of war to enter into formal negotiations. A treaty concluded at Karlstad in September 1905 determined the conditions for this final solution of the problem, and the two nations parted from each other in peace. For King Oscar personally this end to his grandfather's endeavour was a bitter disappointment. It was primarily due to Oscar II's love of peace and to the calm determination of the leading Swedish statesmen that the dissolution was brought about without bloodshed, and without leaving germs of future dissension.

King Oscar II died in 1907 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Gustavus V, whose reign has been characterized by continued political democratization, by extension of the franchise (1909; 1918—1921), lately also to women, by bitter social conflicts and far-reaching legislation to lessen class antagonism. Above all the Great War has left

its mark also on Sweden, which like other neutral states suffered both directly and indirectly from the gigantic conflict and from the general devastation that followed it. The Russian revolution in 1917 rendered possible the rise of a number of independent states east of the Baltic, i. e. Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. The present political boundaries correspond therefore in many respects to those existing prior to the expansion of Imperial Russia. The international situation in Northern Europe, in fact, has been radically changed, and future developments are uncertain.

APPENDIX

Gustav V (b. 1858), King of Sweden since 1907.
Photograph.

Gustav Adolf (b. 1882), Crown Prince of Sweden.
Photograph.

1.

2.

3.

4.

1. Hjalmar Hammarsköld (b. 1862), Prime Minister 1914—17. Photograph. 2. Karl Staaff (b. 1860, d. 1915), Prime Minister 1905—06, 1911—14. Photograph. 3. Hjalmar Branting (b. 1860, d. 1925), Prime Minister 1920, 1921—23, 1924—25. Photograph. 4. Arvid Lindman (b. 1862), Prime Minister 1906—11, 1928—). Photograph.

SWEDEN OF TO-DAY.

IT HAS frequently occurred of late years that strangers who have but a superficial acquaintance with Sweden, have characterized our country as one possessing a strangely undeveloped Constitution, resembling some relic of *l'ancien régime,* with a semi-despotic form of government, and with an aristocracy opposed to popular rights and influence. It is true that Sweden was only to a very slight extent affected by the subversions and transformations of power caused by the French Revolution, which led to such radical changes in the case of many other states. In consequence, Sweden preserved through the revolutionary age and still retains many important state institutions of ancient date. The explanation of this characteristic feature — which, by the way, Sweden shares with England — is that, in our country, popular liberty and a constitutional form of government had obtained a sure and steadfast basis long before the transition to a freer form of rule had begun in the rest of Europe. In a state with a free political tradition dating back many hundreds of years, it is a comparatively easy task to modify or reconstruct older forms and institutions when the changes of Time make this imperative. Such institutions possess a vitality sought for in vain in countries that have long lain inactive and torpid beneath absolute rule. It has, therefore, been possible for public life in Sweden — as in

England — to preserve fine political distinctions practically unknown in other countries. Such fine differences are by no means signs of arrested development, but rather the contrary.

What has just been said cannot surprise anyone who has carefully followed the above historical narrative. The old Scandinavian society was distinguished by an austere manliness and sense of responsibility, no less than by a total absence of such vulgar democracy as found expression in mob-rule in the Roman Forum. On the whole, it respected no other privileges than those which were the result of greater ability and its attendant greater importance. »Virtue, common sense and manliness confer nobility» was a pithy saying of King Gustavus Vasa, and one in fullest agreement with the opinions of ancient days in Sweden. It is true that this fundamental principle respecting personal merit scarcely ever served as the only motive for the conferring of social privileges, but, on the whole it is one that has constantly set its seal on public life in Sweden. In this public life a true democratic form of government dates back even to primeval ages.

From a political point of view, Sweden offers a picture of as thorough a system of democratic rule as can be shown by any state. In the centre of this popular form of government, however, is seen the figure of the monarch with his unbroken authority. In present political terminology the king is often called »the first Estate of the country», which implies that, in his person, the king represents the full authority of the State. It is true that, since the growth of the tendency towards party government which has distinguished the past century in Sweden, the king does not personally exercise the great influence conferred on him by the Constitution formulated in 1809. This actual power has been transferred to him and his advisers

— the members of the Cabinet gathered around him in council, i. e., to »the King-in-Council» *(Kunglig Majestät)* as the official expression runs. But, in addition to the representative functions devolving on the head of the State which at the present time are perhaps more numerous than before, many possibilities still remain for the monarch to make his influence felt. He represents continuity in the life of the State, and he personifies the idea of the State in such a way that he can exercise considerable authority even in this democratic age. This may be largely due to the fact that, from times immemorial, the King has been the Head and Supreme Guardian of Justice, and that, nominally at least, he still retains that position. To appeal from a lower Court of Justice or from administrative departments to the highest Court of Appeal is still termed in popular language, »to go to the King», and the decision given after such an appeal is promulgated to-day, as in ancient times, in the king's name. The inherited sense of veneration for the royal person to which this bears witness is undoubtedly based on the consciousness that the reigning king is the heir of a long and singularly imposing succession of rulers whose names still preserve much of their former glory. In this connection it may well be pointed out that the kings of Sweden have, as a rule, acted as the leaders of a democratically governed people. They have generally maintained an intimate and vigorous co-operation with their subjects; hence they have been able to exercise a harmonizing and conciliating influence which becomes the stronger, the more frequent the changes of Cabinet, as a result of modern political strife. Sweden may be termed a democratic monarchy or a monarchical democracy.

During the twenty years of his reign Sweden's present King, Gustaf (Gustavus) V, has exercised his authority

with conspicuous tact and success. King Gustaf is not a man who willingly remains in the foreground and who desires to attract attention or win cheap popularity by means of superficial splendour. His retiring nature have, to some extent, formed a barrier which has prevented the people from learning to know and value their monarch. But his untiring and loyal devotion to duty during years of difficulties and danger has slowly and surely won general appreciation. When the storms of the Great War shook Europe, and Sweden only with the greatest difficulty succeeded in having her fixed principle of neutrality respected, King Gustaf's personal connections with the rulers and leading men of the conflicting nations were, to judge by results, of great importance. By means of his calm steadfastness, he inspired confidence in his own and in his country's honourable intentions. Specially worthy of praise was his skill in uniting the three Scandinavian kingdoms in close political cooperation. He showed by this action a resolute disregard of circumstances which might formerly have given rise to friction. When, later on, Finland attained the rank of an independent state, Gustaf V pursued the same wise and clearsighted Scandinavian policy towards this country, which in a sense is our nearest neighbour.

Just as advantageous — although less known to the public — has been the anxiety of the King to overcome difficulties arising from domestic political crises. Although King Gustaf has, as a rule, refrained from direct political interference, he has not hesitated, when special circumstances have required such intervention, to give expression to his personal opinions. Even when these sentiments have been unable to win the approval of all the conflicting parties, his strong conviction has never failed to produce a considerable effect.

The ancestor of the Bernadotte dynasty was received with supercilious condescension by the hereditary rulers of his age. While they set a value on the services of the former revolutionary general during their united struggle against Napoleon, they hesitated to accept Charles John, the then Crown Prince and future King of Sweden, as being of the same rank as themselves. The wisdom and success with which Charles John governed the country soon disarmed these narrowminded prejudices of birth and his son had no difficulties to face in that respect from the princes of Europe. At the present time the Swedish Royal Family is closely connected by numerous family ties with the majority of foreign dynasties, a circumstance, which undoubtedly is of international importance. By its active interest in many national and social questions, the Bernadotte dynasty has become intimately acquainted with the various aspects of Swedish life and has become more deeply rooted in the soil of its adopted country. It may be pointed out, for example, that science, the fine arts and literature, humanitarian work, modern sports and athletics, all are more or less indebted to the present members of the Royal Family. They have not only given proof of goodwill in general, but have often themselves taken part in these activities. Their earnest endeavour to carry out their obligations have endeared the members of the Royal House to the Swedish people and greatly strengthened their moral authority.

The levelling tendencies of the present day have not succeeded in banishing ancient State ceremonial. The Swedes have scarcely ever been inclined to spend much on official splendour, and those monarchs who have displayed any marked love of luxury are often mentioned in their history as warning examples. But a certain magnificence and dignity have always been appreciated, more especially

by the great mass of the people, when the head of the State, surrounded by members of his family, appears on particular occasions as the hereditary representative of the nation. Such occasions are naturally rare — the visits of foreign rulers, important events in the life of the Royal Family, etc. Every year, however, the opening of the *Riksdag* in the great hall of the Royal Palace of Stockholm presents a picture of ancient, stately ceremony, the forms characteristic of the eighteenth century being still used at the official meeting between the King and the representatives of the people. The occasion is not merely one of formal display but, like so many other ceremonies in national life, it is a symbol of the continued vitality of the fundamental principles of Swedish government inherited from primeval ages. The King in Council and the *Riksdag* still form the two poles of Swedish political life, and their official meeting is therefore rightly attended by a dignified and impressive ceremony.

The most characteristic feature of Swedish domestic politics during the first decades of the twentieth century is, probably, the gradual fusion of ancient officialdom and modern democracy. Earlier, perhaps, than any other of the now existing states of Europe, Sweden adopted an effective administrative organization, which in essentials has survived to our own times. After a period of practical experiment, this system of administration was codified in the Constitution of 1634. Since then it has been supplemented and amplified, modified and altered, and yet the original design still remains. An administrative apparatus resting on a solid basis of the written law and its continued application is usually exposed to the risk of self-sufficient isolation, of raising a barrier between itself and the living forces of the times and, therefore, of becoming alienated from the spirit of the age. The Swedish administration

has been protected from such isolation by maintaining a close intercourse with existing political activities. The political and administrative leadership have been united in the advisers of the King — formerly called the »Council of the Realm» *(Riksrådet)* and now the Cabinet *(Statsrådet, Kabinettet)*. The civil servants of higher and lower rank have, in many instances, been members of the *Riksdag* and taken part in its labours and debates, thus acquiring an intimate knowledge of the varying currents of public opinion. One of the most important factors of political enlightenment is the long acknowledged liberty of the Swedish Press, which has made it possible for public opinion to criticize every administrative department. It has thus been possible for the Swedish administrative apparatus to adjust itself, without undue friction, to various systems of government, such as the more or less strongly emphasized royal autocracy, the constitutional monarchy and the more markedly parliamentary system. Under all of these forms of government the civil servants have won the reputation for combining independence, competence and judgment, while the authority of the *Riksdag* and the criticism of the Press have been a guarantee that their influence shall not overstep reasonable limits.

It is characteristic of the line of development of Swedish politics that, during the whole of the nineteenth century, political merits alone seldom enabled anyone to obtain a leading position as one of the King's Ministers. The office of Cabinet Minister was the summit of an official career and although, ever since the middle of last century (cf. p. 000), the Ministers have usually been selected in agreement with the prevailing opinion in the *Riksdag*, a long period of administrative service was just as essential as their political ability. A change in this respect was noticeable after the reform of the *Riksdag* in 1866. From that date,

and until the beginning of the present century, the majority in the Second Chamber of the *Riksdag* consisted of representatives of the small farmers who, constituting the so-called Farmers' Party *(Lantmannapartiet)*, energetically promoted their special class interests. It became necessary for the King to choose advisers enjoying the confidence of the farmers or actually belonging to their number. E. G. Boström's long and successful career as Prime Minister (cf. p. 000) was made possible chiefly by the fact that he was himself a farming landowner sharing the views of the Farmers' Party, while he chose his colleagues in the Cabinet almost exclusively from the ranks of the civil servants. Not even during their hay-days did the Farmers ever seriously demand that their own men should take over the direction of Government departments; it was sufficient that the Cabinet considered the wishes of the party in the more important questions under debate.

A new development began as the result of the displacements in party politics at the beginning of the twentieth century. The great progress within the ranks of industry and commerce had increased the electorate with industrial workmen and others in humbler walks of life who, at the elections to the Second Chamber, usually voted for the Liberal or Radical Opposition. Since the beginning of the twentieth century these oppositional groups have appeared in the *Riksdag* united into large Parties, first the Liberal party and, lately with steadily growing numbers, the Social Democratic party. These parties did not content themselves with exercising the more indirect influence on the government which had satisfied the farmers' party, but demanded that their leading men should be allowed to take over the government as Cabinet Ministers. There will be an opportunity later on to speak of the characteristic features of the Swedish party systems; we shall now merely point

out that, after the Union crisis in 1905 with the consequent dissolution of the union with Norway, this demand gained in strength and that, from this date, purely political Cabinets have taken the place of Governments chosen from higher civil servants with political ability.

This new development has not, however, necessitated much readjustment of the existing government machinery. Just because the administrative apparatus in Sweden has been accustomed to work in with the majority of the *Riksdag,* recent political changes in the personnel of the Cabinet have not materially affected the methods of administration. Although party leaders instead of experienced civil servants have held office as Cabinet ministers and chiefs of Government departments, the permanent officials of these departments have, as before, carried on the specialized work. They have supplied the technical information and pointed out the needs of their departments. It has afterwards remained for the Cabinet to bring these practical considerations to the notice of the *Riksdag* and to frame a policy acceptable to the majority in the two Chambers. As a rule, the *Riksdag* is ready to approve of any reasonable measures designed to solve the urgent problems of the day, many of them the immediate results of intricate social developments. The *Riksdag* has generally approached such questions from a non-party point of view, allowing its decisions to be based on the merits of the case. Under exceptional circumstances, however, party feeling has been roused, but this has been rare and has not caused any serious dislocation of the administrative routine, nor have the changes of Cabinet done so. The Swedish constitution has proved sufficiently firm to resist the stress of recent years and sufficiently elastic to be adapted to the needs of the day.

The present time is called the era of democracy, which

implies that the influence of the great mass of the population has become increasingly evident. In Sweden this democratic influence has been very marked, both in the *Riksdag* and in local self-governing bodies.

It is a characteristic feature of Swedish communal administration that urban and rural councils possess a far-reaching authority. The inhabitants of a certain area *(Kommun)* elect a representative body which, on its own responsibility, carries out important administrative duties. The police, traffic, public health, Poor Law, elementary education, public services such as gas and electricity works, water supply and tramway services, are all directed by the local authorities. The power of these authorities, especially in the cities, has widened in recent years. Keeping pace with industrial development and with the migration of the rural population into the towns, their sphere of influence has extended so as to affect the entire social life of the community. The financial aspect is of course particularly important from the point of view of the ratepayers. In consequence, public interest in the communal elections has increased and they are attended by as heated party controversy and as keen participation on the part of the public as the general elections to the *Riksdag*.

The present-day Swedish democracy is unfortunately displaying a strong class-interest. It is evident that when a class of the population which has previously been kept in the background acquires increased power it should desire to use this power to obtain increased material advantages. The reform of the local authorities and of the *Riksdag* in the sixties of last century gave to the Swedish peasantry a preponderating influence both in the communal administration and in the *Riksdag*. The peasants endeavoured, selfishly, to utilize this power to the advantage of their class thereby creating bitter opposition at the time. Political

power has now been transferred to the numerous class of industrial workmen. Ever since about 1900 this class has been united by means of the Trades Unions, which have been formed into a general organization, embracing practically the whole of the population engaged in industry. This organization has been at once a social and a political fighting body, the members of the Trades Unions being, as a rule, enrolled in the Social Democratic party. As a result of this combination, the economic struggle on the part of the Trades Unions to obtain improved wage-conditions for the workmen has become more and more political, and the Social Democratic party has used its new-gained political and communal power almost exclusively in the favour of the working classes.

Sweden, with her relatively protected position and her circumscribed conditions, has needed the support of a strong and balanced public opinion to counteract such egotistical party policy. Our unclouded foreign horizon and the often narrowminded outlook at home easily allow the daily unimportant conflicts to become predominant, while the larger problems of the future are allowed to drift and fail to exercise a broadening and educative influence. A rapid survey of the more important political changes in Sweden since the beginning of the present century seems to confirm this opinion.

At the beginning of the century, the position of the parties in the *Riksdag*[1] was as follows. The first Chamber was completely dominated by the conservative majority

[1] In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be stated here that, in the term »First» and »Second» Chamber, there exists nothing of such an estimation of their importance as leads Englishmen to designate the Upper House by the title of »the Second Chamber», while he calls the »Lower House the First». The First Chamber in Sweden can be said to correspond most nearly to the Senate in U. S. A. or in France; the Second Chamber, again, would, in the main, correspond to the Lower House, i. e., the House of Commons in England, the House of Representatives in U. S. A., and the Chamber of Deputies in France.

which was held together by its protectionist views. The few freetraders in that Chamber either were without any real importance or found it advisable to collaborate with the majority in most political questions. Beside the Tariff question there where two other important items on the programme of this conservative majority: its zeal for strengthening the defence of the country and its opposition to the Norwegian claims to alter the conditions of the Union. The present Party of the Right, officially entitled the National Party of the First Chamber, which is led by Ernst Trygger, must be considered as the direct continuation of this powerful party, whose leading personality at the beginning of the century was Christian Lundeberg. In the Second Chamber the position was not so clear. Once the special class interests of the farmers had been satisfied, the old and powerful Farmers' Party *(Lantmannapartiet)* was split up by the tariff controversy of the eighties of last century. Various small Liberal or Radical groups made their appearance side by side with the Farmers' Party during the nineties, and won over a number of its members. These groups underwent fusion in 1900 and, as the United Liberal Party later on led by Karl Staaff was supported by Labour groups, and was so successful at the polls that it was the strongest party of the Second Chamber from 1906—1914. As its faithful allies stood from the beginning the few Social Democrats who, in 1906, with Hjalmar Branting as their chief, organized themselves under the name of the Social Democratic *Riksdag* group. This title showed that the third party — unlike the two others — did not consider itself as entirely, or even chiefly, existing in the *Riksdag* but that is was, in the first place, a political union of the workmen of which the *Riksdag* group merely constituted a special delegation. In opposition to the influence exercised by the Liberal-Radical and Socialist Parties, Ar-

vid Lindman formed, in 1912, the Farmers' and Burghers' Party *(Lantmanna- och borgarepartiet)* in which, as the name indicates, were included the remnants of the old Farmers' Party and the Conservative representatives from the cities.

The year 1905, when the union with Norway was dissolved, marks an important change in Swedish politics. Up till that date, political discussion had invariably been influenced by considerations connected with this union. King Oscar II regarded the maintenance of the union as vital, and during his reign the various Cabinets were obliged to pay almost as much respect to Norwegian opinion as to Swedish. When the union was at length dissolved and the two kingdoms separated, this disturbing element disappeared from Swedish politics. The following questions have since been in the foreground: the organization of national defence, the democratization of the Constitution by means of an extension of the franchise both for political and communal elections, and, finally, various financial and social reforms. The need for financial and social reform has been recognized by all parties in the *Riksdag* and approved with comparative unanimity, whereas the problems of defence and of the franchise have occasioned long and heated controversy. This was interrupted for a time by the outbreak of the Great War with its peculiar reaction on Swedish conditions, but it was renewed with even greater intensity after the close of the struggle. During the last few years social disputes have more often than formerly been the subject of discussion in the *Riksdag*. As the details of these struggles can hardly interest the reader, only a very brief account of the successive Cabinets of the last twenty years will be given, together with the chief characteristics of their administrations.

The negotiations respecting the dissolution of the union

with Norway were brought to a close by a Coalition Ministry under the leadership of the Conservative Christian Lundeberg. Since then the following Cabinets have successively been in power:

Nov. 1905—May 1906, Karl Staaff's Liberal Cabinet; resigned in consequence of the franchise question;

May 1906—Oct. 1911, Arvid Lindman's Conservative Cabinet; carried general political franchise for men (1909); extended the communal franchise and introduced the proportional method of voting;

Oct. 1911—Feb. 1914, Karl Staaff's Liberal Government. The most controversial problem during the existence of this Cabinet was that of national defence. Staaff resigned in consequence of a difference of opinion between King Gustaf and himself regarding the rate at which certain desirable military and naval reforms were to be carried out;

February 1914—March 1917, a neutral but predominantly Conservative Cabinet under Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, chosen principally to find a solution of the defence question. This Cabinet directed the policy of Sweden during the greater part of the last War;

March—October 1917, a moderate Conservative Ministry with Carl Swartz as Premier;

October 1917—March 1920, a Liberal-Socialist coalition Cabinet under Nils Edén; in 1918 it effected a radical solution of the franchise question; in 1919 Sweden entered the League of Nations and adopted a law imposing an 8-hours' working-day;

March—October 1920, Socialist Ministry under Hjalmar Branting;

October 1920—October 1921, a Cabinet consisting of Departmental officials under Louis De Geer and Oscar von Sydow;

October 1921—April 1923, Hjalmar Branting's Socialist

Government; resigned in consequence of a conflict with the *Riksdag* on the unemployment policy;

April 1923—October 1924, a Conservative Government with Ernst Trygger as Premier;

October 1924—June 1926, Socialist Cabinet under Hjalmar Branting (d. 1925) and Rikard Sandler; carried in 1925 a great reduction of the organization of the national defence; resigned in consequence of a conflict with the *Riksdag* on the unemployment question;

June 1926—October 1928, Coalition between Radical-Prohibitionists and Moderate Liberals[1] under C. G. Ekman; resigned after new elections to the Second Chamber;

October 1928—, a Conservative Cabinet under Arvid Lindman.

The relatively short existence of most of these Cabinets may easily be taken by an observer unacquainted with the country as a token of continual domestic unrest. This, however, would be to judge superficially. During the last twenty years few countries in Europe have enjoyed such comparatively calm and stable home conditions as those Sweden can boast of. During the whole of this period, there has been only one occasion when a purely political crisis has moved the nation and excited its passions; this was the conflict respecting the defence question in the winter of 1914. The situation was critical in 1909 in consequence of the general strike which then broke out and which affected most spheres of work, but this conflict remained an economic struggle and had no direct political consequences. The energetic way in which, on that occasion, the demands of the workmen's leaders were rejected helped to tranquillize the people during this social upheaval. A

[1] In consequence of varying opinions, especially with regard to the temperance question, the Liberal Party broke up into two sections — the Radical-Prohibitionist *(Frisinnade)* popular Party which agitated for total prohibition, and the Liberal Party which in this question was moderate.

somewhat serious state of unrest was noticeable in 1917 and 1918. This was the result of the Great War — partly due to high prices and partly to the revolutionary overthrow of the existing authorities in Russia and Central Europe — but the unrest was only temporary. Consequently, the rapid changes of Cabinet have not been caused by serious domestic disturbances, but chiefly by the frequent re-shuffling of political party-groups in the *Riksdag*.

In certain respects Parliamentary conditions in Sweden differ considerably from those existing in other countries. First and foremost, the two Chambers of the *Riksdag* stand on an equal footing, not only theoretically, i. e., according to the wording of the Constitution, but also *de facto* so that the Cabinet is obliged to pay equal consideration to them both.

Further, the extraordinary dissolution of the Chambers — a kind of referendum — with a subsequent general election does not play an important rôle in Swedish politics. The First Chamber, the members of which are elected for eight years, is renewed successively by the election of one eighth of its number each year, so that a dissolution of this Chamber followed by the election of all the members at once, would, in reality, be against all Swedish Constitutional principles. The Second Chamber, on the other hand, must, according to Constitutional Law be renewed in its entirety every fourth year,[1] the elections to be held in September. This regulation is not subject to alteration even if the chamber should be dissolved and a new one elected during the four-yearly period of its existence. In such a case, the mandates of the newly-elected members are only valid until the end of the period prescribed by Law.

[1] It was only a few years ago that this four-years' period for the duration of the Second Chamber was adopted. Previously, the elections to this Chamber had to take place every third year (cf. the table on p. 401).

A dissolution and subsequent election of the Second Chamber may therefore take effect for such a short period that the Government hesitates to submit the country to the political agitation and inconvenience of an election campaign.

The proportional system of representation which has been in force at all political elections since 1909, has stabilized the relative position of the parties and made it exceedingly difficult for any party to gain decisive victories at the polls. The numerical differences become merely changed and not absolutely reversed. The position is illustrated by the following tables, showing the results of the ordinary September elections to the Second Chamber of the *Riksdag* since 1911. Simultaneously, proportional representation has, to a certain extent, encouraged the formation of groups within the main parties; a development, which has rendered the positions of these parties less secure.

The Composition of the Second Chamber

after the ordinary elections:

	1911	1914	1917	1921	1924	1928
Liberals (and Radical-prohibitionists)	101	57	62	41	33	32
Social Democrats (and Communists)	64	87	97	106	109	98
Conservatives[1] (and Agrarians)	65	86	71	83	88	100

The result of this has been that, after the pressure of the War ceased in 1919, the phases of party politics in the *Riksdag* have been extremely variable. No party has gained an absolute majority but a working majority was obtained up till March 1920 by means of a Liberal-Socialist coalition. Since this was broken up, party ascendency has

[1] Conservatives = farmers and burghers' party.

been swaying in the balance, and merely temporary combinations have proved the decisive factors. It is typical that the Socialist Government of 1925, assisted by the Liberals and the Radical-Prohibitionists (»*Frisinnade*»), forced through a limitation of armaments, whereas in 1926 it was defeated on its unemployment policy by a coalition of all the moderate groups. This coalition, however, was of such a temporary character that the Cabinet which came into power after the crisis consisted only of Radicals and Moderate Liberals. The most burning questions of the last year or two have been financial and social problems of a practical and technical nature. They have therefore not been calculated to awaken party differences, and it is impossible to prophesy with any certainty regarding the party groupings in the immediate future.

At the general election in 1928 the Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals on the whole united against the Socialists and Communists. The former group, representing the middle classes, polled about 1,230,000 votes, as against the 1,025,000 obtained by Labour. At the previous election the corresponding numbers were 950,000 and 815,000. The Conservatives form the strongest single party, but no party has as yet a reliable majority in the Second Chamber.

* *
*

When the modern organ of international cooperation, which is called the League of Nations, was created Sweden joined it in 1920. The opinion prevailing in Sweden as to the possibilities of the League as a promoter of peace will probably be best expressed by the following quotation from the American historian James T. Shotwell: »The realisation of international peace is a very different thing from the formulation of a denunciation of war; nations

which live under the shadow of possible and impending war know only too well the difference between the general statement of their ideals and the practical application in forms that will safe-guard them against the bitter disillusionment of all their hopes in the hour of crisis.» Still clearer must it appear to us that all states with truly neutral inclinations and ideals must make the greatest efforts to promote a true spirit of reconciliation between peoples. As a notable expression of such endeavours should be mentioned the Ecumenic meeting — attended by representatives of all Christian churches, with the exception of the Roman Catholic one — which was held in Stockholm in 1925, on the initiative of Archbishop Söderblom of Uppsala.

* *
*

In conclusion, it may be of interest to give a brief survey of the conditions obtaining in Sweden at the present time, and for this purpose a few remarks on the natural resources on which the national culture is based, may prove useful.

From an early age Sweden has been primarily an agricultural country. It is true that Nature has not smiled very favourably on the efforts of the population, for the northerly climate of the country is rather severe and the soil none too productive. Only in Skåne and possibly in the provinces of Östergötland and Västergötland and in the island of Gotland do we find any correspondence to the conditions of fertility existing in Central Europe. But the labour of the people has largely compensated for unfavourable external conditions. The Swedish peasant has always been the free owner of the land he has farmed, or, at least, the independent tenant of rented land. This in-

dependence has created in him a great love of the soil and led him to exert himself to the utmost. By bringing more land under cultivation and by employing improved methods of agriculture he is trying to enlarge his farm and increase its produce. It is wonderful to see the results obtained in, for example, the stony hill-sides of the province of Småland by untiring labour in clearing and cultivating the soil. In olden times the peasant who desired to improve his methods was obliged to follow the example of the large landowners who, as a rule, were pioneers in agriculture. At the present time State authorities and Farmers' Associations are anxious to provide instruction and enlightenment in matters calculated to promote the development of Swedish agriculture.

The stranger who visits Sweden must be struck by the general aspect of the country differing, as it does, in so many ways from the scenery usually met with in foreign lands. It is seldom that he encounters in Sweden the vast fertile grain-growing fields among which the population is crowded together in villages, often surrounding some palatial residence. In the typical Swedish country-district he finds small parcels of land scattered among forests, hills and lakes; the small farms are often solitary and possess an individuality of their own. His first impression intimates straightened circumstances, but on closer acquaintance he often discovers comfort or even affluence. — The whole of the cultivated area of Sweden was estimated in 1911 at about 3.7 million hectares (9,250,000 acres) divided into about 360,000 farms, of which not more than about 3,000 consisted of 250 acres or more. In these figures, natural meadow and forest land are not included. It is the hard-working, independent, agricultural population, still inhabiting the country-side, which has always been the back-bone of Sweden.

But agriculture with its affiliated industries is no longer of the same importance as before to the economic life of the country. The produce of the soil and of cattle-breeding has steadily increased, but not in proportion to the growth of the population and to the consequent increase in consumption. A considerable amount of the grain needed by the population has, therefore, to be imported. But, simultaneously, the number of the inhabitants gaining their living directly by agriculture has decreased, in proportion to the numbers engaged in industry and trade. Sweden, like all European countries, has been greatly affected by the industrial development of the last century although not to the same extent as the states of Central and Western Europe. The connection, too, between the farmer and the industrial workman are of a stronger and more intimate character in Sweden than in most other countries.

If we examine the principal industries of the Sweden of to-day, it is well to bear in mind that one particular branch is of ancient date, i. e. the metal industry. The rich mineral deposits of central Sweden were being worked far back in the middle ages, but the Swedish iron industry did not attain real importance until the seventeenth century. From that time Sweden was for about a century one of the largest steel-producing countries in Europe and, before the invention and the general adoption of puddling, Sweden supplied England with most of her steel. During the last hundred or hundred and fifty years, however, the Swedish iron industry has led a precarious existence, handicapped by an uneven competition with the more favoured production of other countries. In spite of this, Sweden has maintained a respected name in the iron and steel trade, in consequence of an uncommonly valuable quality of steel, and also as a result of the rich iron ore

deposits in the province of Norrbotten which has given rise to export on a considerable scale. The absence of good native coal has created serious difficulties and compelled the iron and steel masters to pay special attention to the question of fuel economy. In many instances this investigation has led to the erection of superior plants.

During the eighteenth century the Swedish iron industry established, by means of a combination of producers, a special credit institution called *Jernkontoret* or »the Iron Institute» (3),[1] which still continues to exercise a beneficial activity. In recent years, however, this Institution has concentrated its energies mainly on the support and promotion of scientific investigations and of practical experiments designed to improve the methods of the iron manufacture. As regards the iron industry in general, the economic development of last century has led to the closing down of many of the less productive mines, and also of the greater number of the smaller privately owned iron works. Both the mining and the manufacturing industries are now controlled by a small number of large companies. In many instances the Swedish ironworks are financially closely connected with the great engineering firms of the country.

Conditions in Sweden have been and still are extremely favourable to the development of mechanical engineering works. First of all there is a long native tradition of iron and steel manufacture, secondly, abundant supply of cheap power is available from the waterfalls and, finally, an innate bent for mechanical construction is very general among the population. These circumstances have cooperated to create a number of big industrial enterprises. Among the pioneers in engineering may be mentioned John Ericsson, J. A. Brinell, Thorsten Nordenfelt, Gustaf de

[1] The figures within parentheses after certain names refer to corresponding numbers.

1.

2.

3.

4.

1. John Ericsson, inventor of the propeller (b. 1803, d. 1889). Contemporary lithograph. 2. Alfred Nobel, inventor, donator of the Nobel Prizes (b. 1833, d. 1896). Photograph. 3. Knut Wallenberg, Director of the Stockholms Enskilda Bank (b. 1853). Portrait by E. Stenberg. 4. Ivar Kreuger, chief of the Swedish Match Trust (b. 1880). Photograph.

Saw-mill in Norrland.

Trollhättan Electrical Power Station.

Laval, Gustaf Dalén, Sven Wingqvist, B. Ljungström and F. Ljungström.

By far the largest mining fields of Sweden are those existing in the province of Norrbotten, at Kirunavara, Luossavaara and Gällivare (19). Next to these, as regards production, are the iron mines of central Sweden, e. g. Grängesberg and Stråssa. The Dannemora mines enjoy a special reputation for the quality of their ore. Their immense open shafts constitute a sight similar to that called Stora Stöten at the ancient coppermines of Falun, in Dalarna. At many mines concentration-plants for the utilization of the poorer ores have been erected, where the ore is crushed and the mineral extracted, after which the remaining product, or ore-pulp, usually is made into briquettes.

Among the iron and steel works of Sweden, which still amount to a considerable number, the following are the largest: Sandviken (25), where, under the guidance of G. F. Göransson, the steel manufacturing process invented by Harry Bessemer was made a practicability; Domnarvet, Söderfors and Älvkarleö owned by Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags Company (14); the Uddeholm works (30) at Hagfors, Munkfors, Nykroppa and Storfors; and finally Fagersta, Hofors, Strömsnäs, Surahammar, Avesta, Boxholm, Bångbro, Forsbacka, Gimo-Österby, Kloster and Kohlswa. *Svenska Metallverken* at Västerås (28) and the *Finspong Metallverk* are examples of engineering firms which manufacture goods made from other metals than iron, chiefly from copper. Unlike the iron works, which are, as a rule, situated in the country districts, the engineering trade is concentrated in the towns, especially Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö, Trollhättan, Huskvarna and Eskilstuna. Among these factories three deserve mention as having successfully exploited extremely clever inventions,

i. e. *A. B. Separator* (26) and *A. B. Gasaccumulator* (18) in Stockholm, and *Svenska Kullagerfabriken* (27) — the Swedish Ballbearings Factory — at Göteborg, all of which enjoy a reputation extending far beyond the boundaries of Sweden. There are further Göta Shipyard (20) at Göteborg, the Lindholmen—Motala Works (23) at Göteborg and Motala, the Kockum Works (22) at Malmö; Nydqvist and Holm's Locomotive Works (24) at Trollhättan; the Bofors (15) Munition Factory; the Huskvarna Arms Factory (21), and Bolinder's Mechanical Engineering Works in Stockholm.

Finally, a word should be said of the flourishing condition of the Swedish electrical engineering trade, which has been built up by the inventive genius and the leadership of such men as J. Wenström, E. Danielsson, L. M. Ericsson, H. T. Cedergren, and W. Jungner. *Allmänna Svenska Elektriska A. B.* (A.S.E.A. — 13) at Västerås, and the *Allmänna Telefon A. B., L. M. Ericsson* (29) in Stockholm are by far the two most important electrical engineering firms in Sweden.

The timber trade ranks at present first among Swedish industries. Long ago the vast resources of timber were used chiefly for building ships and houses or for the manufacture of tar and pitch, and for fuel, chiefly in the form of charcoal for the iron-industry. Mast timber, pitprops, tar and pitch and, to some extent, sawn timber, have since the seventeenth century been exported on a large scale to English and Dutch ports. The growing demand for timber in foreign industrial countries gave, from the middle of the nineteenth century, quite a new importance to the products of the Swedish forests. About 1850, large sawmills driven by steam were erected at the mouths of the rivers flowing through the North-Swedish forest districts, and these were run chiefly for the sake of export.

A little later on, about the seventies, works were established for the manufacture of woodpulp. At the present time, sawn timber and cellulose (sulphate and sulphite pulp) constitute Sweden's chief articles of export.

Among the largest sawmills and cellulose factories the following may be mentioned: Svanö (44), and, in the neighbourhood of Härnösand and Sundsvall, Enhörnings Trävaru A. B. (33), Kramfors (39), Mo and Domsjö (41), Skönvik, Svartvik, Wifsta Varv (45); further south, towards the mouth of Dalälven: Iggesunds Bruk (37), Bergvik and Ala, Kopparbergs and Hofors' works, Korsnäs and Karskär (38); Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags' Works (14) at Skutskär; and finally, in the west of Sweden, the works belonging to the Billerud A. B. (32) and the Uddeholm A. B. (30).

A considerable amount of the manufactured woodpulp is used in the production of paper in Sweden itself, a special branch being the manufacture of the coarser qualities used for newspapers etc. Amongst these paper mills may be mentioned: Holmens Bruks & Fabriks A. B. (36), the works at Hallsta and Norrköping; Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags Works at Kvarnsveden; Fiskeby Fabriks A. B. (34) Works at Skärblacka and Fiskeby; A. B. Mölnbacka-Trysil Works at Deje and Klarafors; Munksjö A. B. (42) at Jönköping, etc. Other works, such as A. B. Papyrus at Göteborg, Lessebo (40), and Munktell's Works (43) at Grycksbo, are celebrated for the very high quality of the paper produced.

Neither as regards the number of workmen nor the scope of production can the other Swedish chemical industries compete with those enterprises already named, but they occupy however a prominent position. Thanks to Johan Edvard Lundström's pioneer-work, Swedish technical skill has created a world-embracing trade, the match industry.

This industry, which is concentrated in Jönköping and the surrounding district (Anneberg) and Tidaholm, is at present under the direction of Svenska Tändsticks A. B. (53 — »the Swedish Match Manufacturing Co. Ltd.»). Under the able leadership of I. Kreuger this company has also obtained a controlling influence over the match industry in a number of other countries. — In the manufacture of high explosives the name of Alfred Nobel is well known outside Sweden as a prominent inventor and leader.

The textile industry occupies only a comparatively modest place in the national economy of Sweden. It is by no means an unimportant or neglected industry, but its capacity for production has always been limited by a number of unfavourable circumstances and, for centuries, the Swedish demand has largely been supplied by imports. A considerable home-production of woven linen goods has long been carried on in certain flax-producing parts of the country, such as the districts around Borås in Västergötland, and in Hälsingland. The old hand looms have, however, to a considerable extent been replaced by machinery. The manufacture of woollen and cotton textiles has long had its centres at Norrköping and Borås with the surrounding districts, but, latterly, such goods have also been manufactured in the seaports of Göteborg, Malmö and Stockholm.

Finally, it may be mentioned that Sweden employs a considerable number of hands in divers trades intended to supply the immediate home demand, such as the manufacture of clothes, boots and shoes, flour, sugar, margarine, malt liquors, spirits and tobacco. The importation and manufacture of tobacco is at present a State monopoly.

A question of primary importance in modern Sweden is the regulation of the whole-sale and retail distribution of spirituous liquors. Intemperate habits have long been com-

mon among the Swedish people, and from the middle of last century the Government and the *Riksdag* have endeavoured to mitigate this evil by imposing heavy duties on the manufacture and sale of strong alcoholic beverages. Other methods, such as the well-known »Gothenburg system», have also been tried. The present system, devised by Doctor Ivan Bratt, aims at limiting the sale of spirits. This is considered preferable to total prohibition, which would inevitably stimulate illegal traffic and so increase the abuse. The principles of this so-called »Bratt-system» or »Stockholm system» are: a) the rationing of the individual purchaser of spirits; b) the prevention of private profit from the sale of alcohol; c) the management of the retail liquor traffic by companies which are held responsible for the temperance of their respective districts. N. B. The importation and manufacture of alcoholic liquors are entrusted to a special company, *Aktiebolaget Vin- och Spritcentralen,* the shares of which are held by the Crown.

The »Bratt-system» has undoubtedly worked well, though the most advanced temperance reformers, the prohibitionists, regard the results as unsatisfactory. A strong agitation was started in favour of total prohibition, but this was defeated by referendum in 1922.

Recent endeavours to combine industrial mass production with artistic design have in Sweden found successful expression especially in the manufacture of glass and china. The glassware manufactured at Kosta (47) and Orrefors (49), no less than the china made at Gustafsberg and Rörstrand bears witness to this fact.

It has already been pointed out that Swedish industries are hindered by the lack of native coal, and that browncoal is found, but only in small quantities, in Skåne (Höganäs-Billesholm). This want is more or less compensated by the large amount of waterpower that can be supplied by

the waterfalls in the Swedish rivers. This power has long been used to drive mills, sawmills and forges. Lately the rivers have been systematically regulated, and the waterfalls have been harnessed for the production of electric energy which is utilized as driving power for industry and public services. The State has led the way in this respect by its gigantic plants at Trollhättan, Älvkarleby and Porjus, and the State Railways from Kiruna to Riksgränsen (-Narvik) and from Stockholm to Göteborg are now electrified.

Of the same date as the rise of modern industry in Sweden are the Insurance and Credit establishments which are of such vital importance to the business activity of the present day. The prototypes of our large insurance businesses came from England which, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, had established agencies for a large number of important English insurance companies in Sweden, especially in Göteborg. The first Swedish insurance company was founded in 1855, i. e. Skandia in Stockholm (10), followed later on by Svea in Göteborg (11) — both transacting fire as well as life insurance. Thule insurance company in Stockholm (12), provides life insurance only.

The Banking business in Sweden dates back to the middle of the seventeenth century, when a charter was granted to a private banking establisment which, some years later (1668) was taken over by the State. This bank, »the Bank of the Estates of the Realm», at present entitled *Sveriges Riksbank* (1) (the Swedish State Bank), has after many changing fortunes, concentrated on the task of stabilizing the Swedish monetary values. From 1830 onwards, private banks were established which, at first, however, did not altogether satisfy the demands of business men. Sweden obtained its first private bank that was fully organized in a business-like manner in 1856 when Stockholms En-

skilda Bank (6), was established by A. O. Wallenberg, followed in 1863 by the Skandinaviska Kredit A. B. (5). Since the beginning of the present century and especially during the Great War, Swedish banking establishments have been amalgamated and are now in the hands of a limited number of large banks. The most important of these are at present Stockholms Enskilda Bank, Skandinaviska Kredit A. B., Svenska Handelsbanken (8), the Göteborgs Bank (4) and Inteckningsbanken (7).

Like the insurance and credit establishments, the means of communication have kept pace with our industries. They have promoted the development of industry and, in return, have themselves increased in capacity and importance. In a thinly populated country, where distances are great, the upkeep of the highroads has always been a national question of great importance. When, in the fifties, the construction of railways began to be seriously discussed, it soon proved necessary to build the main railway lines by means supplied entirely by the State. These lines were completed successively during a period of about 50 years and they now radiate from Stockholm in different directions to the most outlying parts of the kingdom. They go to Malmö, Göteborg, the Norwegian frontier and further on to Oslo, Trondhjem, Narvik, to Haparanda and on to Torneå in Finland. A State Railway running north and south is at present under construction in the interior. This so-called »Inlandsbanan», when completed, will connect the northern shore of Lake Väner with the mining fields of Gällivara in Norrland. Of the many private railways, »Bergslagsbanan», between Göteborg and Falun (in Dalarna) is the most important. At present our railways are experiencing an ever-increasing competition with motor vehicles, both as regards passenger and goods traffic. In order to facilitate the use of motors great efforts are being made to

improve the net-work of highroads throughout the country.

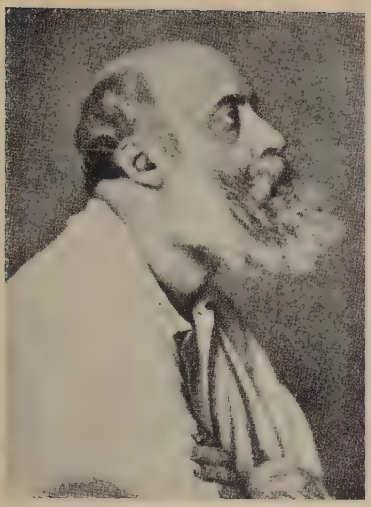
The telephone service was for a long time carried on by private companies, which developed it with unexampled rapidity. It is now, however, like the telegraph service, controlled by the State.

Waterways must always be a factor of great importance in a country with Sweden's geographical position and natural features. About a century ago a scheme was advocated to develop a net-work of canals, with Trollhätta —Göta Canal as the main route from which minor canals were to be conducted. To some extent this scheme has materialized, but from the very beginning the importance of the canals has been greatly diminished by the competition of the railways. — The means adopted for the safeguarding of our shipping, e. g. the erection of lighthouses, the pilot service, the construction of up-to-date harbours, have all facilitated the establishment of rapid and regular services between Swedish ports and important places abroad.

* *
*

An attempt, be it ever so summary, to describe to an English reading public the present intellectual life of Sweden, would demand far greater space than that placed at our disposal in these pages. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a brief survey of her most important institutions and societies.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Swedish intellectual, literary, scientific and religious life was directed mainly by the Lutheran Church. The universities of Uppsala, Lund and Åbo, the gymnasiums or grammar schools attached to all the cathedrals of the country, and the



1.

2.

3.

1. Gustav Fröding, poet (b. 1860, d. 1911). Potograph. 2. Selma Lagerlöf, novelist (b. 1858). Photograph. 3. Verner von Heidenstam, author (b. 1859). Portrait by Oscar Björck (b. 1860).

1.

2.

3.

1. The City Hall, Stockholm. Erected 1911—23 from the design and under the supervision of Ragnar Östberg (b. 1866). 2. Anders Zorn, artist (b. 1860, d. 1920). Portrait of himself by the artist. 3. Carl Larsson, artist (b. 1853, d. 1919). Portrait of himself by the artist.

meagre education provided for the common people were all in the hands of the clergy, and theology was the chief subject studied at the universities. This is not surprising, when one analyses Swedish conditions in that age. At the most critical time in her history, Sweden, awakening to renewed life, found herself enveloped in the violent religious struggles of the continent, and acquired simultaneously both political consolidation and religious liberty. During the calmer years following these periods of upheaval, various forms of intellectual life were emancipated from the bonds of church discipline. This result was greatly aided by fresh religious movements, such as Pietism (a kind of Swedish Puritanism) and Methodism, the converts to which broke away from the Established Swedish Church and organized themselves into free religious bodies. Even more effective was the influence exercised by the leading intellectual circles of the capital. It was undoubtedly Stockholm, the centre of all kinds of public activities, and especially of political movements, which, at an early period, succeeded in throwing off ecclesiastical dominance. In Stockholm societies were founded for the promotion of science, literature and art; and a freely debating and criticizing Press was first established in Stockholm. Although all these movements were not inimical to the Church, they were independent of its power and laboured towards the attainment of other ends. This emancipation, which began as early as during the former half of the eighteenth century — we might point to the foundation in 1739 of the Swedish Academy of Science, through the instrumentality of Linnaeus, as a specially significant occasion[1] — made extremely vigorous progress during the following century.

The most distinctive feature of the intellectual life of Sweden at the present day is its democratic character,

[1] One of the first members of this Academy was Emanuel Swedenborg.

which corresponds to the political development of the country. This is most apparent in the instruction of youth. The passage for youth of both sexes from the elementary schools into secondary schools, and thence to universities or technical institutions, is rendered very easy, especially as the fees in the secondary schools are almost negligible. The finishing examination from the secondary schools, which is called *studentexamen* and corresponds to a high standard of matriculation examination, is set by a joint board of examiners for the whole of Sweden. This examination which entitles the pupil to admittance to the universities and to the wearing, as a mark of distinction, of the white »student-cap», is a very popular one. The courses of instruction given at the Universities, are, consequently, enjoyed by young people from the most widely different circles who prepare themselves side by side for their future life-work. It is to the credit of the Swedish educational system that the way upwards is open to ability, irrespective of birth and wealth. But it must be admitted that the flow of pupils to the higher courses of study — which often are necessary stepping stones to social distinction — has lately been so great that even the successful have found it difficult to obtain adequately paid posts.

The leadership of intellectual studies appertains to the university cities, first and foremost those of Uppsala and Lund, with their centuries-old traditions. Also Stockholm and Göteborg possess a number of *Högskolor* or Colleges of various types besides other more specialized cultural institutions. Stockholm with its numerous teaching establishments and learned societies, its museums and its institutions for scientific, literary and artistic studies, has become the foremost cultural centre of the kingdom. But it must be considered fortunate for Swedish culture that several other cities are in their own way centres of intellectual

life. In a land of such great geographical extention as our own the existence of several relatively independent homes of learning and culture must be an advantage.

Without attempting to enumerate the more important institutions or the leaders of science, literature and art, it may be of interest to give the following names of well-known representatives of Swedish scientific achievement during the past few decades:

History: Harald Hjärne, Emil Hildebrand, Henrik Schück and Ludvig Stavenow; *Archeology:* Oscar Montelius and Hans Hildebrand; *Philology:* Esaias Tegnér, the younger, Axel Kock, O. A. Danielsson and Adolf Noreen; *Philosophy:* Vitalis Norström and Axel Hägerström; *Theology:* Nathan Söderblom; *Law:* Ivar Afzelius, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, Vilhelm Sjögren, Tore Almén and Johan Thyrén; *Political Economy:* David Davidsson, Knut Wicksell and Gustav Cassel; *Mathematics:* Gösta Mittag-Leffler; *Natural Science:* Olof Hammarsten, K. J. Ångström, Allvar Gullstrand, Svante Arrhenius, Gerard De Geer, Manne Siegbahn, T. Svedberg and Herman Nilsson-Ehle; *Exploration:* A. E. Nordenskjöld and Sven Hedin.

In the world of *belles lettres* may be mentioned the following contemporary Swedish writers: Viktor Rydberg, the chief Swedish exponent of idealistic poetry; Carl Snoilsky; August Strindberg, our chief dramatic author and novelist, a master of Swedish prose; Verner von Heidenstam, known for his lyrical poetry and prose works, the latter based on historical events and tradition; Selma Lagerlöf, our imaginative teller of tales and legends; Gustaf Fröding and Erik Axel Karlfeldt, both lyrical poets. — Literary work by Albert Engström, Gustaf af Geijerstam, Per Hallström, Ellen Key, Carl G. Laurin and Sigfrid Siwertz are well known, both in England and America.

Among modern *Swedish artists* the most outstanding is,

of course, Anders Zorn, a master in realistic technique and one who is entitled to a prominent position in the international world of art. Animal life, especially life in the Swedish forest, can hardly have had a better interpreter than Bruno Liljefors, a man who is not only a huntsman and an observer of Nature but also gifted artist. — Equally observant, although his models are taken from among the men and women around him, and as skilful with the pencil as Liljefors is with the brush, is Albert Engström who, in addition, is one of our best prose authors. The versatile Carl Larsson was chiefly known for his original watercolour sketches of his own home, but he painted also decorative frescos of great effectivity. Other Swedish artists of note are: Georg von Rosen, Gustaf Cederström, Ernst Josephson, Oscar Björck, Prince Eugen, the youngest son of Oscar II, Julius Kronberg, G. Kallstenius, Anselm Schultzberg, Richard Bergh, Karl Nordström, O. Hjortzberg, I. Arosenius and the modernists, Isaac Grünewald and Otte Sköld.

Among recent Swedish *sculptors* the names of Per Hasselberg, Christian Eriksson, Teodor Lundberg and Carl Eldh must be put in the front rank, but the most celebrated of living Swedish sculptors is Carl Milles, whose genius has created a large number of well-known works.

Architecture in Sweden has reached an extraordinarily high level at the present time, many Swedish architects being outstanding in their art: Ragnar Östberg, the creator of *Stadshuset,* the City Hall of Stockholm; Ferdinand Boberg; Carl Westman, whose finest work is *Rådhuset* or the Court House in Stockholm; I. G. Clason, from whose plans *Nordiska Museet* or the Northern Museum was erected; Ivar Tengbom; Torben Grut, the architect of the Stockholm Stadium; Lars Wahlman.

In conclusion it may be said that, during the last few decades, Sweden has been the scene of vigorous intellectual

life and of intense and successful work in almost every important sphere of labour. This productiveness has been promoted by an exhibition of great generosity on the part of private persons. Many of the towns of Sweden have been richly endowed with funds for purposes beneficial to the general public, and a large number of institutions for the promotion of science and art are supported entirely, or essentially by private munificence. Among specially remarkable private donations should be mentioned the Wallenberg Trust (63); the endowment fund for medical research (64) and the Nobel Foundation (62) which is of great importance not only to Swedish but to international culture. It may also be mentioned that Bernhard Shaw received the Nobelprize in 1925 and founded a Society in London, bearing his name, for spreading the knowledge of Swedish Literature.

The democratic character of the period and of the country is displayed not least by the fact that at the present day, the results obtained by science and art become, in a popular form, rapidly the possession of the general public. The example of the English University Extension Movement was soon imitated in this country. Several Swedish points of connection with such instruction existed at an even earlier period in the form of *Folkhögskolor* or People's High Schools, situated in different parts of the country and intended for the sons and daughters especially of farmers. These have been run on lines similar to the Danish schools introduced by Grundtvig, who set out to impart instruction by means of clear and popular lectures and pamphlets, concerts, art exhibitions etc. At the present day »wireless» has come into extensive use as a means of instruction and amusement. The chief organ of enlightenment, however, is the Press.

Periodicals and reviews devoted to general discussion

have not in Sweden acquired an importance equal to that which they have gained in the large civilized countries, probably in consequence of their limited number of readers. Their task has to a large extent been carried out by the more important daily papers which, in addition to the columns devoted to news and to the discussion of current political problems, afford ample space to literary and art criticism and to popular scientific reviews. Their example has influenced the small, local papers so that even comparatively unimportant provincial newspapers devote attention to such subjects. For the private citizen, therefore, his newspaper has become as much an organ of education as a source of news and an expression of public opinion. At the present day one can hardly imagine a real Swedish home which is not a subscriber to some newspaper.

It may be asked, what is now the position occupied by the Swedish Established Church, once the dominant factor in cultural life? It has already been pointed out that her predominance has long since vanished, a phenomenon which is in the fullest agreement with the principal demand of the Reformation for the education of the individual to a feeling of personal responsibility and personal liberty. This does not signify that the importance of the Established Church has been seriously reduced, for, as secular education has been removed from her sphere of influence, she has been able to concentrate on purely religious instruction. Full religious tolerance exists in Sweden. The Swedish Established Church enjoys a privileged position, but full liberty is ensured to all other Christian forms of worship and also to the Jewish religion. It is true that a number of fairly sharp conflicts have occurred between the Established Church and the Free Churches, and that widely diverging religious opinions still exist. But over and above these differences the demand has grown stronger for unity in

the Christian faith, and for loyal cooperation between Christians of all denominations to meet the religious needs of the people. In this work, which is one for the immediate future, no factor is better calculated to exercise a conciliatory and guiding influence than the Swedish Church, for her strong position permits her to unite a deep religious piety with enlightened broad-mindedness and respect for venerable traditions.

* *
*

Since the middle of the nineteenth century there has been a more or less continuous stream of emigration from Sweden to foreign lands. This emigration has been due, partly to a desire for adventure innate in the Swedish national character, partly to temporary difficulties in the home country from which the emigrants hoped to escape by settling abroad. As Sweden has no colonial possessions, the main current of emigration has been directed to countries, such as the United States of America, which afford opportunities to the rural Swedish settlers to secure both independence and prosperity under conditions not too dissimilar from those existing in their native land.

For the period 1851—1910 the official statistics show a total of about 950,000 emigrants who left Sweden for the United States. This estimate is undoubtedly low but probably represents the net figure after deducting the number of emigrants who afterwards returned to Sweden from the United States. From 1911 to 1920 the emigration from Sweden to non-European countries was approximately 85,000, as compared with 39,000 emigrants who have returned from these countries. The corresponding figures for the period 1921—1927 were about 81,000 and 20,000.

Some of the emigrants went to Canada but, as before, the majority settled in the United States.

The emigration to the United States has varied considerably from year to year. During the first relatively short emigration boom (from 1852 to 1854) from 2,500 to 4,000 emigrants left Sweden every year. At that time the newly discovered Californian gold fields were a strong attraction, but a more powerful cause of emigration was probably the unrest and discontent prevalent in Europe following the revolutionary storms of 1848. In Sweden this unrest was largely expressed in the rise of religious sects which opposed the harsh orthodoxy of the still dominant Established Church. Converts from adjacent villages would often join in a common pilgrimage to find freedom in the New World. The improved economic conditions during the Crimean war helped to shorten this initial period of emigration.

At the beginning of the sixties the introduction of regular steamship services between Europe and America facilitated emigration. Swedish emigrants took advantage of this chiefly in 1868 and 1869, when great distress and food shortage prevailed in many parts of the country. The numbers of emigrants to the United States in these two years respectively were 21,500 and 32,000. A better outlook in Swedish trade at the beginning of the seventies again stemmed the tide of emigration until a long period of depression supervened, lasting all through the eighties and part of the nineties. From 1879 to 1893 a total of 490,000 Swedes left for the United States, or an average of over 32,500 a year. The climax was reached in 1887 with 46,200 emigrants. A trade boom early in the nineties afforded better chances of obtaining a livelihood and reduced the figures considerably. Apart from the year 1903, when the number rose to 35,500, between 1894 and 1910 18,000 emigrants, on the average, settled each year in the United States.

Later on the world war interfered with emigration and, since 1921, the rigid immigration laws introduced by the United States Government have checked the flow of Swedish emigrants.

The Swedish-born population now resident in the United States is estimated at approximately 630,000, and in Canada at nearly 30,000. If the children of Swedish parents are included, the number in the United States is about 1,500,000 and in Canada 50—60,000.

Having emigrated chiefly from rural districts, the first Swedes settled on the land in the New World. Instead of cultivating the fertile prairie, where farming plots were cheap, they colonized the less productive districts west of the Great Lakes, where the severe climate and the undulating character of the landscape reminded them of their native surroundings. In this way large Swedish settlements arose in Minnesota and Wisconsin, splendid pioneer work being accomplished by the industrious Swedish settlers. Similar agricultural settlements have afterwards arisen in Massachusetts and in Maine. The Swedish prairie settlements in Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas are of later date.

The descendants of the early Swedish settlers have not infrequently changed over from agricultural to industrial and commercial occupations. Rockford, Ill., a manufacturing town of fair size, is largely Swedish, and Chicago has a Swedish population of about 150,000, including descendants of Swedish parents.

The Swedes have, as a rule, readily adapted themselves to the conditions of the country and so become merged in the American population. A strong national link is the Augustana Synod, founded in 1860 and closely connected with the Swedish Established Church. This religious community has nearly 300,000 members and possesses more than 1,200 churches. The Synod maintains the Augustana

College (in Rock Island, Ill.,), an important secondary school and theological college.

* *
*

For the purpose of supplementing the above brief survey of the modern economic and cultural conditions in Sweden, we give below a few remarks respecting the more important business enterprises and institutions existing at present in the country. As, in drawing up this list, respect has been paid chiefly to such businesses and establishments which, it is thought, may interest the foreign reader, it makes no claim, of course, to be a complete one.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF SWEDISH LITERATURE.

ALTHOUGH THE OLDEST SWEDISH LITERATURE in existence was not written down before the latter part of the 13th century, there was a wealth of *sagas* long before this period. Unlike the Icelandic literature, which was written in the 12th and 13th centuries, these old, pagan poems of Sweden were not recorded during the Middle Ages and have therefore been almost forgotten. Scientific attemps at reconstruction can only give a feeble conception of their extent, but they reveal the fact that Sweden, as well as the other northern countries, had a considerable stock of poetry and fiction. The numerous *Runic inscriptions* from the 9th to the 12th centuries have preserved, here and there, lines of poetry which had the same form and contents as those of the Icelandic poetry in the »Edda». In addition, there are a number of so-called *picture stones*, which show that the Germanic myths — of Siegfried and the Niebelungen, for instance — were known in Sweden, and in the Finnish »Kalevala-Songs» may be traced motives borrowed from Sweden. During the period from 850 to 1100, when the Swedes were in lively communication with the East, through the Russian Empire founded by the Swedish Vikings, great numbers of myths and legends were introduced, particularly from the Byzantine Empire, and spread from Sweden to the other northern countries. Although written during the 13th and 14th centuries, a number of the *Swedish provincial laws*, among them the Västgöta Law, contained legislation which had been in existence for several hundred years before the Laws were written.

It was only after the 13th century, when Christianity became general among the Swedish people, that the intellectual culture of Sweden took the same lines of development as in the South and West of Europe. Swedish clerics travalled to the renowned University of Paris, where Swedish scholars had their own colleges, at which lodging and education were provided. At the cathedrals and monasteries a literature developed which chiefly took the form of legends, and for the court and nobility translations were made of the feudal stories about Charles the Great and his paladins, Flores and Blanceflor, Alexander, Frederic of Normandy, etc. About 1280 a Dominican Monk, *Petrus de Dacia*, wrote a biography in romantic and mystic language of a maiden, Kristina of Stumbelen. Better known than this monk was *St. Birgitta* (d. 1373),

who belonged to one of the foremost aristocratic families in Sweden and established the still existing order of Bridgetines. She described to her father confessors the relevations made to her, and according to these she appears as one of the leading mystics of the Middle Ages. In the Monastery of Vadstena, founded by her, which eventually became a literary centre for Sweden and the North, numerous Latin religious works were translated into Swedish. Another branch of mediaeval literature, the writing of *ballads*, also flourished in Sweden at this time, but unfortunately the ballads have been lost in their original form and have only been partly preserved in later and much deteriorated compositions. With the growth of a Swedish national feeling the desire for the writing of history awakened, and as early as the beginning of the 14th century a number of *chronicles* were written, mostly in verse, the earliest of which is *Erikskrönikan*. This national feeling, which was strengthened during the incessant wars against Denmark, led to the foundation of a Swedish University at Uppsala in 1477.

The Lutheran Reformation in Germany, which almost coincided with the War of Liberation waged by Gustavus Vasa against the Danes and the consolidation of the kingdom, spread rapidly to Sweden and led to a breach with the ideas of the Middle Ages. The great reformer of Sweden, *Olaus Petri* (d. 1552), created Swedish prose literature by his masterly expositions, his translation of the Bible, and his Psalms, and did more than anyone else to spread the love of reading among the people. It was only during his time that the printer's art, which had been known in Sweden since about 1480, was able to disseminate knowledge of the larger questions of the period among the masses. In his fresh, idealistic, and unprejudiced views, which are particularly in evidence in his *Swedish Chronicle*, Olaus Petri stands out as the equal and perhaps the superior of the foreign reformers. After his death a period of literary poverty set in, which was only brought to an end when Sweden attained the political and material importance of a great power. During the period in question only one writer of note deserves mention, namely *Lars Wivallius*, a vagabond type, who had travelled round the world encountering one adventure after another, and who for a long period was confined to prison, where the loss of his freedom inspired his lyrical poetry, which reflects a close understanding of nature and love of freedom.

The period of the Reformation produced no scientific work of note except in the spheres of theology and history. The last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sweden, *Johannes Magnus*, when exiled in Rome, wrote a book *Historia de omnis Gothorum Sveonumque Regibus* (1544) which was inspired by a strong love of his country, but which is, however, extremely unreliable and fantastic, and in every way different from the strongly critical *Chronicle* of the same period written by Olaus Petri. Johannes' brother, *Olaus Magnus*, however, by his geographical and ethnographical book *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), created a work of incalculable value for later research. Another work

of historic value is *Scondia illustrata,* in which the unfortunate Uppsala professor, *Johannes Messenius,* recorded the history of Sweden, on the basis of numerous older works.

The singular development of power attained by Sweden during and after the Thirty Years' War, brought with it an increased national feeling and a desire to emulate the greater powers in the literary sphere also. Queen Christina's love of splendour led her to attempt to form an international academy of well-known scientists at her Court, but the attempt had no importance for Sweden. The »Renaissance» of Swedish literature was really inaugurated by *Georg Stiernhielm* (d. 1672), who with his warmly patriotic, didactic poem *Hercules,* attempted to create a Swedish epic on similar lines to those of the ancients. This »Father of Swedish poetry» inspired other young talents to complete his work, such as the poet *Samuel Columbus* and the well-known doctor *Urban Hjärne,* who composed a Swedish tragedy after the Roman style. Other impulses resulted in attempts to imitate the sonnets of Petrach, or the turgid and pompous poetry of the late Renaissance period. Towards the end of the 17th century, French classical literature was introduced, althoug its influence was only noticeable during the succeeding century. Contemporaneous with this poetry, dependent on foreign models, there was, however, a popular and more national movement following the lines of the poetry of Wivallius, which was to reach its culmination with Bellman. This poetry consists mainly of casual verses, humorous songs, composed to amuse the company or to provide the daily bread of some poor minstrel. The best known representatives of this branch of poetry are *Lasse Lucidor* and *Runius.*

In the scientific sphere, the 17th century was as versatile as it was full of initiative. The leading figure is the versatile Uppsala professor, *Olof Rudbeck* (d. 1702), who was a leading anatomist and botanist, combining a rich but uncritical imagination and talent with a glowing patriotism, which is especially in evidence in his fantastic work *Campus Elysii,* where he attempts to prove that the Atlantis of Plato is Sweden, the first country inhabited on earth. Contemporaneously other Swedes carried on successful research in other branches of science, particularly the learned lawyer *Stiernhöök* and *Johannes Bureus,* who was the founder of the study of the runic inscriptions. In order to consolidate the newly conquered Skåne with Sweden, a university was established in Lund in 1668, and one of its first teachers was the eminent German historian and philosopher *Pufendorf.*

The period of Sweden's political greatness ended with the death of Charles XII in 1718, and it was followed by a so-called period of liberty, the chief characteristics of which were a great decline in political power and consideration but also strong cultural and economic development. During this period England and France competed for the chief influence on Swedish ideas, but generally speaking science has received most of its impetus from the former country and literature from the latter. *Olof von Dalin* (d. 1763) is the outstanding figure in this new period. In

his moralising weekly journal *The Swedish Argus* he created a parallel to the contemporary weeklies »The Tatler» and the »Spectator». Dalin was a keen follower of French rationalism and attempted a severance with the prejudices of the time in religious and scientific matters, especially by means of his severe criticism of Rudbeck's archeological investigations and by his *History of Sweden.* Dalin was also known as a poet. His epic poem *Swedish Freedom* was strongly influenced by Voltaire's Henriade, and his *Fables* were on the pattern of La Fontaine's. The leading representatives of French tendencies were the former Swedish Ambassador in Paris, *C. G. Tessin,* and Frederic the Great's sister, the gifted but imperious *Queen Lovisa Ulrika.* The latter was the founder, in 1753, of the first Academy of Letters in Sweden and appointed as its secretary Dalin, the teacher of the Crown Prince, later Gustavus III. The same year another literary society was formed, called »The Order of Thought Builders» under the presidency of a romantic poetess *Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht* (»Shepherdess of the North»), whose poetry shows strong influence from Voltaire and Rousseau, and reflects the divergence between the enlightenment of the new period and the old religious piety of the nation. Among the young men whom she collected around her, the young Counts *Gyllenborg* and *Creutz* were notable (the latter later became the Swedish ambassador in Paris). Of especial value are Creutz's idyllic shepherd verses *Atis and Camilla* and Gyllenborg's somewhat chilly *Odes,* which express his stoic doctrine of virtue. At the same time one notices also in the drama an increasing French influence, mainly attributable to a French troupe of actors. Besides comedies by Molière and Holberg, a few by Swedish authors were produced.

At the conclusion of the Era of Liberty, about 1760, the greatest poet of that century appeared, namely the Stockholm poet *C. M. Bellman.* The popular and humorous verse of the day culminates in him and is combined with the grace and sensualism of the rococo period. In his ditties this light-hearted Bohemian, who never felt comfortable in his bourgeois surroundings, has, in a realistic and at the same time idealistic manner, described the Stockholm of the decade beginning with 1760, its taverns, its women, and its odd characters. In his songs about their drinking bouts, fights, and adventures, he depicts them as a happy Dionysian band of shepherds, who dally in the idyllic surroundings of Stockholm. The melodies which attaches to these songs, even if borrowed from French music of the period, combine so well with them that they form an indivisable whole. *Fredman's Epistles* and *Fredman's Songs,* which contain the most beautiful and the freshest verses written by Bellman, will ever be reckoned among the favourite poetry of the Swedish people.

The Era of Liberty was a time of scientific greatness, and, particularly in natural history and physical sciences, Sweden became known throughout the world. As early as 1710, the Scientific Society of Uppsala had been founded by local scientists, but it was only on the found-

ation of the Academy of Science in Stockholm in 1739 that an organisation was established for Natural Science and the Science of Economics. One of the founders was *C. Linneus (von Linné)*, the ingenious discoverer of the botanical sexual system, who collected around him a devoted circle of pupils, who in their turn spread the science throughout the world. In his short accounts of travel and his scientific treatises Linneus has shown himself to be the master of a pure and natural style of writing. Next to Linneus, *Emanuel Svedenborg* is the best known Swede of this period, not only by his philosophic and religious works, but still more owing to his ingenious and versatile investigations into natural science, which heralded the developments of future times. Other leading scientists during this period are the physical scientist *Anders Celsius*, the linguist *Ihre*, and the historian *Lagerbring*.

The political changes introduced by King Gustavus III in 1772 also inaugurated a new era in literature, which during the reign of this King flourished at the expense of science. *Gustavus III*, whose personality contrasted with that of his insignificant predecessors, set his mark upon the period, and in spite of all his failings and shortcomings, he was undoubtedly the leading man in both politics and the arts. He had received a French education and the French mode of thought had in him one of its greatest admirers. But he wished, at the same time, to create a national Swedish literature, and he devoted himself to the drama with real passion. He built both a Swedish Opera House and Dramatic Theatre, and supported both with his private means. He was himself the author of a number of historical plays in the style of the French plays of the same period. The most noteworthy step taken by Gustavus to raise the level of Swedish literature was the establishment of the *Swedish Academy* in 1786, on the pattern of the French Academy, which he much admired. The Literary Academy established by his mother he changed into a centre for historical and archeological scientific investigations, and, in order to promote the free arts, the Academy of Art and the Musical Academy were founded. The Swedish Academy with its 18 members formed a literary tribunal, and its literary tastes and views, greatly dependent on French classicism and enlightenment, were to decide its position with regard to the new romantic impulses which were imported at the beginning of the 19th century, particularly from Germany. Foremost among the members of the Academy is the poet *J. H. Kellgren* (d. 1795), who, especially by his editorial activities in the newspaper *Stockholmsposten*, brought the ideas of the new enlightenment before the public. His poetry, in which he handles the Swedish language with an elegance never before attained, is a fearless attack on the shortcomings of his time, and the mystic, spiritistic movements of the 18th century had in him a sworn enemy. At the same time, he was a sincere and unbiassed critic, who saw, for instance, what was valuable in the verses of Bellman, and it was due to him that these were printed. The last poetry written by Kellgren reveals a profound change in his views on life, which, as he

grew older, became of a deeper and more serious character. Upon the death of Kellgren, Gustavus III's former favourite, *Leopold,* became the foremost figure in Swedish literature. Leopold, who had formerly assisted Gustav III in his dramatic work, was himself a composer of tragedies in the Franco-classical style and also of philosophical and moralising verse, which however lacked the warmth and inspiration of Kellgren's poetry. Through his stout defence of the academic ideals against the attacks of the new romantic style, Leopold became the personification in the 19th century of the Gustavian literature, which was then in process of extinction.

Simultaneously with the rise of the Franco-classical taste in art to a leading position, came a reaction against it, which took the form of a preliminary to the romantic era. Its principal supporters were Rousseau, Ossian, Klopstock and Goethe. In the poetry characterised by scenic descriptions written by the academic poet Count *J. G. Oxenstierna* — for instance, *The Harvests* — a preference for romantic motives is already shown. The first to attack the then universal academic taste was *Thorild*, who, in connection with a prize competition in the literary society »Utile Dulci» became involved in a violent argument with Kellgren, relating principally to the justification for unrhymed verse. This controversy, to which Thorild's principal contribution was his *Critic of Critics,* was continued by Leopold, who, however, could not prevent the spread of the new ideas. Another »early romantic» was the sentimental poet *Lidner*, who in his lyrical epic poems (for instance, *The Death of Spastara*) and in his Opera *Medea,* gave expression to the sentiments of the period. *Franzén* in his *Song about Creutz,* represents the culmination of this early romantic current.

The new classicism, which appeared on the continent during the decennium 1780—1790, also reached Sweden, where this movement was represented by *Adlerbeth's* translations of antique poets and by *Ehrensvärd's* accounts of travel and notes on the philosophy of art, which were influenced by Winckelmann.

All these new currents of thought increased in strength when, at the beginning of the 19th century, the Franco-classical taste lost ground. The impulses of this romantic reaction against the period of enlightenment were given by the formerly neglected German literature and by the philosophy of Kant. This romantic literature was subject to many changes, but the leading group of the new authors were the so-called »Phosphorists», so named after the journal *Phosphoros.* They were strongly influenced by the brothers Schlegel, Tieck, and Novalis, and in contrast to the academic or old school represented by Leopold, they called themselves the »new school». The keenest adherent of the new school was *L. Hammarskiöld,* who carried on a lively controversy on academic taste; its greatest poetical power was undoubtedly the Uppsala professor *Atterbom* (d. 1855), who in his fantastical plays *The Blue Bird* and *The Isle of Bliss* created an allegorical and symbolic poem of great beauty. Atterbom was also the author of a large collection of

1.

2.

3.

4.

Men of Letters (early nineteenth century).

1. Esaias Tegnér, poet, bishop of Växiö (b. 1782, d. 1846), the foremost representative of the »Gothic School». 2. E. G. Geijer, poet and historian, Professor in Uppsala (b. 1783, d. 1847), one of the representatives of the »Gothic School». Portrait by J. G. Sandberg. 3. P. D. A. Atterbom, poet and literary critic, Professor in Uppsala (b. 1790, d. 1855), the foremost representative of the Romantic School. Contemporary portrait. 4. J. L. Almquist (b. 1793, d. 1866), author of various works characteristic of both the Romantic and of the Radical Realistic movements. Portrait by Mazer.

August Strindberg, dramatist and novellist (b. 1849, d. 1912).
Portrait by Richard Bergh (b. 1858, d. 1919).

biographies of Swedish writers from the 17th and 18th centuries. Although not himself belonging to the circle of »Phosphorists», the poet *Stagnelius* was closely connected with them. This writer, who died much too early, was the foremost lyric writer of this period and in his verses he combined a passionate sensualism with a strong religious devotion. He also showed himself a master of epic verse, particularly in *Vladimir the Great.* The last of the new »romantics» was the mysterious *C. J. L. Almquist* (d. 1866). In him the reactionary and religious influence of the romantic period turned into a violent radicalism. In many things he reminds us of Rousseau, and like Rousseau he also dreamed of primitive life in the country as an »idealist farmer». His literary production was extremely versatile, and he has collected part of it in a cycle *The Book of the Wild Rose,* which contains romances, novels, epic and lyric verses, aesthetic essays, etc. At the same time he was an excellent realistic writer, particularly in his stories of the peasantry and in his radical book on marriage *It can be done.*

Another phase of the general reaction against enlightenment was »Gothicism», the admiration of the past, which was regarded in a roseate light. Gothicism was, above all, a national movement which was connected with the awakening of national sentiment in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars. The centre of this literary movement was the *Gothic Union,* established in 1811. The »Goths» desired to reinvigorate Sweden, which had been weakened by the misfortunes of recent years, particularly the loss of Finland, by reviving in the people the former strength and spirit of freedom. The typical representative of this ancient Scandinavian enthusiasm was *Ling* »the Father of Swedish Gymnastics», who by his general physical training and a type of poetry now little in vogue, with ancient Scandinavian motives, attempted to put the ideas of the Union into practice. The journal of the »Gothic Union» was *Iduna,* and in it were published verses by *E. G. Geijer* and *E. Tegnér,* the most important members. Geijer (d. 1847) wrote verses which have few parallels as regards their force and simplicity, and also historical works such as *Annals of Sweden* and *History of the Swedish people,* which mark a new departure in Swedish history writing. He is the first Swedish pragmatic historian and his history is one of the classics of Swedish literature. While Geijer worked in Uppsala, his brother poet, Tegnér (d. 1846), was attached to the other Swedish University in Lund. Before he joined the Gothic Union he had already composed markedly patriotic poetry, especially a work *Svea,* which was awarded a prize by the Swedish Academy in 1811. Just as this poem is a mixture of Franco-classical didactical poetry in Alexandrine verse and of free dithyrambics in ancient Scandinavian allegory, so was the man Tegnér himself an exponent of various literary tendencies. His best known work is an ancient Scandinavian epic *Frithiof's Saga,* where he gives an idealised picture of the North, which gained for him unprecedented popularity.

This work is, like many of his other poems, strongly romantic. »Ancient» and »new» classicism had left their traces in the work of Tegnér, and his common sense reacted strongly against the obscure mysticism and methaphysics of the Phosphorists. The general political reaction under the rule of »the Holy Alliance» found a sworn enemy in Tegnér, whose ideals were strong and heroic personalities like Napoleon and Charles XII.

Another new movement which reacted against enlightenment was the religious movement, particularly in evidence in the hymn-book of 1819. This is largely the work of Archbishop *J. O. Wallin,* who was the creator of a new Protestantism, which contrasted both with the dry rationalism of the period of enlightenment and the semi-Catholic mysticism of the romantics.

After the revolution of July 1830, a liberal current swept over Europe and soon reached Sweden, where it conflicted strongly with the reactionary romanticism which had at the time full sway within this country. The organ of liberalism was the newspaper *Aftonbladet* founded by *L. J. Hierta.* Almquist and Geijer joined this new opposition, but more from political than from aesthetic motives. Literature now became tendencious and in particular the romantic novel became popular. Besides Almquist, who also wrote realistic novels, *Fredrika Bremer* may be specially noted. She introduced the bourgeois novel and was an ardent champion of the emancipation of unmarried women, particularly in her novel *Hertha.* The literary ideas of this period found ready adherents among the students and inspired in them warm sympathy for oppressed countries, such as Finland, Poland, and Italy. They also found utterance in the so-called »Scandinavismen», which had as its ideal the union of the northern countries both politically and socially. The two authors *Talis Qualis* (Strandberg) and *Sturzen-Becker* may be regarded as typical representatives of the lyrical poetry of this epoch.

The great Finnish writer *J. L. Runeberg* (d. 1877) occupied a unique position, and his works are among the greatest literary treasures of Sweden. Runeberg united the feeling for good form and clearness of the new classical period with a strong nationalism and a distinct realism, which is expressed in his simply but manly language. As an epic writer he is unsurpassed in Swedish literature, and the motives of his poems were found both in the classic and ancient Scandinavian myths, as well as in contemporary events. His best known work is an epic cycle of verses, *The Tales of Ensign Stål,* giving idealist descriptions of the unfortunate war with Russia in 1808—09.

This combination of liberalism, romance, and ancient humanism, is also found in the poet *Viktor Rydberg* (d. 1895). His novel *The Last Athenian,* which describes the breach between Heathenism and Christianity, and his religious scientific work *The Teaching of the Bible about Christ,* where of paramount importance for religious thought in Sweden. Closely related to Rydberg was Count *Carl Snoilsky,* a highly

cultured aristocrat, whose poetry is noted for its freshness and its excellent form. His sonnets are the finest in the Swedish language and his later verses with themes from Swedish history — *Swedish Pictures* — are reckoned among the classical literature of Sweden.

About 1880 a sudden revulsion set in against this type of literature, in the form of realism, which, particularly in the northern countries, had such good spokesmen as Ibsen, Björnson, J. P. Jacobsen, G. Brandes, and *August Strindberg* (d. 1913). In Sweden this current of literature broke through in Strindberg's drama *Mäster Olof* (1878), which describes the great reformer Olaus Petri, and also in his satirical descriptions of society, *The Red Room* (1879). Both as a writer of plays and of novels, Strindberg may be regarded as a breaker of new ground. He is undoubtedly the greatest dramatist that Sweden has ever had, both as regards psychological intuition and technical ability. His many historical plays may be regarded as modern drama, because in them he touches on the burning questions of his own period. He shows his greatest technical development in the strongly naturalistic plays *The Father* and *Miss Julie*. Of his novels, next to *The Red Room* his autobiographical cycles *The Serving Woman's Son* is the most interesting. *The People of Hemsö* is an excellent realistic discription of peasant life on the islands around Stockholm and *Swedish Tales and Adventures* represents the historical novel. Towards the end of the eighties, Strindberg turned to Nietzsche's individualism, and shortly afterwards he adopted mysticism as his creed, which is evident from his book *Inferno* and the plays *To Damaskus* and *A Dream Play*. Strindberg's work, which is wider in scope and greater in volume than that of any other Swedish author, is of varying value, but is, without doubt, the most remarkable that appeared during the latter half of the 19th century.

The period of realism in literature was, however, of short duration and was followed by a strong reaction against its prosaic greyness and lack of romance and idealism. The leader of the new school of thought was *Verner von Heidenstam*, who became known by his collection of poems *Years of Pilgrimage and Travel* (1880), and his aesthetic essays. His lyrical poems, as well as his historical novels, bear evidence of a strong nationalism, which is particularly noticeable in his cycle of novels *Karolinerna* (The Carolians), an epic dealing with the warriors of Charles the XII. His comrade-in-arms was *Oscar Levertin*, a writer of the history of literature and a critic, who wrote lyrical poetry, *Legends and Songs* and other verse, and also novels and brilliant literary essays. A great poetic writer was *Gustaf Fröding* (d. 1911), who, unfortunately, was all too soon broken down by misfortune and illness. He was a brilliant portrayer of peasant life and a philosophical poet of note, whose verses are some of the most accomplished and musical in Swedish literature. His work is on the border of naturalism and the new idealism, and although his verses, like Bellman's, depict a comic and sunny side of life, they also reflect his own

sadness. Related to him in spirit is *E. A. Karlfelt* (Secretary of the Swedish Academy), who chose the subjects of his poetry in the idyllic and typically Swedish peasant towns of Dalarne, and who, like Fröding, is noted for his excellent rhythm and his brilliant humour.

As an author of prose, *Selma Lagerlöf* takes the first place, side by side with Heidenstam. In her novel *The Tale of Gösta Berling* (1890), she won great popularity, owing to her wealth of ideas and her talent as a story writer. Her most remarkable novel is *Jerusalem,* where she describes how the farmers in the Swedish province of Dalarne emigrated to the Holy Land. Numerous other books by her pen include many romances and novels, which describe the life of the landed gentry in her home district of Värmland.

Other authors of note who have appeared since the invasion of realism, and who have joined this movement or more recent manifestations of it, are *Ernst Ahlgren* (pseudonym for Victoria Benedictsson), *Gustaf af Geijerstam, Anne Charlotte Leffler,* the poet *Ola Hansson* and the critic and dramatist *Tor Hedberg,* all of whom are writers of realistic novels. Other writers who are more closely allied with the new idealism of the 1890's are *Ellen Key,* who has written a number of reformatory books, the author and dramatist *Per Hallström,* and the poets *Bo Bergman, Vilhelm Ekelund,* and *Anders Österling.* Prose-authors whose books have been most widely read of later years are *Hjalmar Söderberg, Henning Berger, Hjalmar Bergman, Albert Engström* (also known as an excellent caricaturist), *Ludvig Nordström,* and *Sigfrid Siewertz.*

LIST OF REGENTS.

Aun?
Egil
Ottar
Adils
Östen
Yngvar
Anund
Ingjald
} about 500—650

Eric (about 800)
Anund and Björn (about 825)
Olof (about 850)
Ring (about 930)
Eric and Emund (about 935)
Emund Ericsson (about 970)
Eric the Victorious (about 980—95)
Olof (995—1022)
Anund (James) (about 1022—56)
Edmund (1056—60)

Stenkil's dynasty:
- Stenkil (about 1060—66)
- Halsten and Inge the elder (about 1080—1111)
- Philip and Inge the younger (about 1111—22)

Sverker's (*a*) and Eric's (*b*) dynasties:
- *a* Sverker the elder (about 1131—1155)
- *b* St. Eric (IX) (about 1155—60)
- *a* Charles (VII) Sverkersson (1161—67)
- *b* Canute Ericsson (1167—96)
- *a* Sverker (II) Charlesson (1196—1208)
- *b* Eric (X) Canutesson (1208—16)
- *a* John (I) Sverkersson (1216—22)
- *b* Eric (XI) Ericsson (1222—29)
- *b* Canute (II) the Tall (1229—34)
- *b* Eric (XI) Ericsson (1234—50)

The Folkung dynasty:
- Birger Jarl (Regent 1250—66)
- Valdemar (1250—75, regency 1250—66)
- Magnus »Barnlock» (1275—90)
- Birger (1290—1318, regency 1298)
- Magnus (II) Ericsson (1319—65, regency 1319—32)
- Eric (XII) Magnusson (1357—59)
- Hakon Magnusson (1362—65)

Albert of Mecklenburg (1364—89)

Margaret of Denmark (Regent 1389—1412)
Eric (XIII) of Pomerania (1396—1439, regency 1396—1400)
Engelbrekt (Regent 1435—36)
Karl Knutsson (regent 1436—40)
Christopher of Bavaria (1440—48)
Karl (Charles VIII) Knutsson (1448—57, 1464—65, 1467—70)
Christian (I) of Oldenburg (1457—64)
Sten Sture the elder (Regent 1470—97, 1501—03)
John II (1497—1501)
Svante Sture (Regent 1504—12)
Sten Sture the younger (Regent 1512—20)
Christian II (1520—21)

The Vasa dynasty
- Gustavus (I) Vasa (Regent 1521—23, King 1523—60)
- Eric XIV (1560—68)
- John III (1568—92)
- Sigismund (1592—99)
- Charles IX (Regent 1599—1604, King 1604—11)
- Gustavus II Adolphus (1611—32)
- Christina (1632—54, regency 1632—44)

The Palatinate dynasty
- Charles X Gustavus (1654—60)
- Charles XI (1660—97, regency 1660—72)
- Charles XII (1697—1718)
- Ulrica Eleonora (1718—20)

The Holstein-Gottorp dynasty
- Frederick of Hesse (1720—51)
- Adolphus Frederick (1751—71)
- Gustavus III (1771—92)
- Gustavus IV Adolphus (1792—1809, regency 1792—96)
- Charles XIII (1809—18)

The Bernadotte dynasty
- Charles XIV John (1818—44)
- Oscar I (1844—59)
- Charles XV (1859—72)
- Oscar II (1872—1907)
- Gustavus V (1907—)

SOME IMPORTANT SWEDISH FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS.

Banks and Insurance Companies.

1. *Sveriges Riksbank* (The State Bank of Sweden) has originated from the Palmstruch Private Bank which obtained its charter in 1656 and in 1661 began to issue banknotes as a means of payment. After this bank had fallen into difficulties the Estates of the Kingdom (the Riksdag) determined in 1668 to take over the business; it was then given the name of »the Bank of the Estates of the Kingdom», which in 1866 was altered to the one it bears at present. It is under the direction of seven Governors one of whom (the President) is appointed by the Government and the other six by the Riksdag. During the course of the nineteenth century the Swedish State Bank has, ever increasingly, developed into an institution exercising the functions of a central bank, and it is now the only one in Sweden entitled to issue banknotes.

2. *Riksgäldskontoret* (The National Debt Office), which manages the national debt on behalf of the Riksdag and is under the direction of 7 Governors appointed by that body, was created in 1789 but it had predecessors. The Riksdag empowers the National Debt Office to take up new loans and fixes the amount thereof, whereupon the issuing of loans thus granted is in the hands of the National Debt Office.

3. *Jernkontoret* (The Iron Institute). A private financial institution, peculiar to Sweden, and intended to support and promote the Swedish iron manufacture. The Iron Institute endeavours to attain this end by granting loans to the ironworks which are members of the Association (Brukssocieteten) and also by making grants for the promotion of the technical development of iron production. The establishment of the Iron Institute was confirmed by Royal Letters in 1747 and it began its work in the following year. The greater number of the ironworks of Sweden are members (partners) in the Iron Institute. Since 1902 the Institute carries on a general banking business. The technical staff has up to this year consisted of 1 Chief Engineer and 5 engineers. The post of Chief Engineer was during the period 1903—1914 held by J. A. Brinell, a prominent metallurgical

and steel expert, known far outside the boundaries of Sweden for his discoveries and investigations, especially the Brinell ball hardness, which have been of fundamental importance for the manufacture of steel and the metallographical sciences. The post of Chief Engineer is since 1914 held by Axel Wahlberg. From the beginning of 1928 Jernkontoret has within the sphere of its newly established Technical Office taken up technical scientific research work, professor Arvid Johansson being Chief of these activities. The journal »Jernkontorets Annaler», organ of the Swedish iron industry, has been published by Jernkontoret since the year 1817. The Managing Director is Emil Kinander.

4. *A. B. Göteborgs Bank*[1] was established in 1848 chiefly for carrying on business in Gothenburg and the surrounding district. The bank has, however, developed into an important interlocal large banking business by means, inter alia, of fusions with other bank enterprises. The Göteborgs Bank has its head offices in Göteborg and Stockholm and owns about 100 branch offices in the Middle and Southern parts of Sweden. The General Managing Director at present is Mr. Gustaf Ekman, Göteborg.

5. *The Skandinaviska Kreditaktiebolaget* (Bank), originally intended to be a large Scandinavian-International Credit Institution, was established in 1864 by a number of the most prominent financiers of that time. Being itself the oldest of the Swedish joint-stock banks, it was amalgamated in 1910 with Skånes Enskilda Bank, the oldest and greatest of the Swedish so-called »enskilda» (unlimited liability) banks. By further mergers and the establishment of branch offices the bank has extended its activities to all parts of the country and now has a capital — Kr. 182,000,000 = £ 10,000,000 share capital and reserves — which is not only larger than that of any other Scandinavian bank but bears comparison with those of the great Continental banks. The bank was the first to introduce the clearing system in Sweden and for a number of years acted as a central clearing house in Stockholm for the other commercial banks of the country. This function was taken over in 1899 by the State Bank. The management of the bank is located at three head offices: in Göteborg, Stockholm and Malmö, and managing directors are H. Mannheimer, O. Rydbeck and Å. Belfrage (at the respective offices).

6. *Stockholms Enskilda Bank* the first up-to-date business-bank in Sweden and one of the most largely financed and most influential banking institutions in the north of Europe, was founded in 1856 by A. O. Wallenberg. The Stockholms Enskilda Bank has, in general, been a pioneer in the application of up-to-date principles in respect to organization and business activity. Unlike the other large Swedish banks its business is confined entirely to Stock-

[1] The abbreviation *A. B.* means *aktiebolag*, i. e. joint-stock company.

holm. After the death of A. O. Wallenberg in 1886 the bank has still further developed under the guidance of his sons, K. A. Wallenberg and Marcus Wallenberg. The Managing Director is J. Wallenberg, the grandson of the founder.

7. *The Stockholms Intecknings Garantiaktiebolag* (the Stockholm Mortgage Company, Ltd) was established in 1869 by J. H. Palme to facilitate the granting of mortgage loans on real estate in the city of Stockholm. The Institution's field of work was soon enlarged, so that to-day, it also embraces general banking transactions. The Managing Director is at present G. Lagercrantz.

8. *A. B. Svenska Handelsbanken* (»The Swedish Bank of Commerce») was founded in Stockholm 1871 as a local institution, its original style being *Stockholms Handelsbank*. Under the leadership of Louis Fraenckel (1893—1911) the bank grew into an institution of international importance, still preserving however its purely metropolitan character. A new era in its history began in 1914; through amalgamations and the establishment of branch offices throughout the country the Handelsbank developed into a »big» bank in the modern sense. In 1919 the style of the bank was changed to A. B. Svenska Handelsbanken as more adequately representing the widened scope of its activities. The bank is now Sweden's leading financial institution in respect of total assets, number of depositors, total deposits and number of branches. The Managing Director is Helmer Stén.

9. *Aktiebolaget Kreuger & Toll* (Kreuger & Toll Company). The firm was established in 1911, by Civil Engineer Ivar Kreuger, the actual General Manager of the Svenska Tändsticks Aktiebolaget (The Swedish Match Company). It is an organizing and financing company with interests in many Swedish and foreign enterprises, among which are to be mentioned the Swedish enterprises the Svenska Tändsticks Aktiebolaget and the Trafik A. B. Grängesberg—Oxelösund. Managing directors: Nils Ahlström and Erik Sjöström.

10. *Försäkrings A. B. Skandia* (Insurance Company) Stockholm, is a fire and life insurance company established in 1855. Skandia was the first joint stock insurance company in Sweden, and is one of its largest. The Managing Director is O. Kinnander.

11. *Brand & Lifförsäkrings A. B. Svea* (Fire and Life Insurance Company) Göteborg, established in 1866 is one of the oldest insurance companies in Sweden. Managing Director, Theodor Wijkander.

12. *Lifförsäkrings A. B. Thule* (Life Insurance Company) Stockholm, established in 1872 has, in many respects, been a pioneer in its branch. Managing Director Sven Palme.

Firms engaged in the Mining and Engineering Industries.

13. *Allmänna Svenska Elektriska A. B.* (ASEA) at Västerås, the largest electro-technical industry-firm in Sweden, was established in 1883, under the title of »Elektriska A. B. i Stockholm» for the purpose of exploiting J. Wenström's patented inventions. The Company took its present name in 1891, and moved to Västerås. The firm has also taken over the Nya Förenade Elektriska A. B., Ludvika and the Surahammars Bruks A. B. (Surahammar Ironworks Co), is the chief partner in the Svenska Turbin A. B. Ljungström; Liljeholmens Kabelfabrik (the L. Cableworks) etc., and has a number of affiliated foreign companies. In Västerås it manufactures electric machines and mechanical apparatus; in Ludvika, transformators and apparatus. Managing Director J. Sigfrid Edström.

14. *Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags A. B., Falun,* (in Sweden usually called »Bergslaget» and in England known under the designation »Stora») has been from ancient times the chief among Swedish industrial companies, dating its origin back to the first half of the thirteenth century. Its origin is due to its association with the copper field and works at »Stora Kopparberget», or »Falu Koppargruva». The present form of the Company was assumed in 1888. In addition to the Falu Coppermine, »Stora» is in possession of Domnarvet, Söderfors and Älvkarleö — all ironworks in central Sweden — and Svartnäs Electrical Power Station. In addition, the Company is the owner of immense forest estates on which is based an important timber industry. Its sawmill, Skutskär, with sawmill, woodpulp (sulphite and sulphate) works, is the largest in Sweden and possesses an important export harbour. In addition to its ironworks, Domnarvet also carries on a papermill at Kvarnsveden. Besides these main branches of its business, the Company carries on a mechanical engineering trade (with works for locomotives and railway carriages at Falun) and a very considerable amount of farming. The total area possessed by the Company amounts to about 650,000 acres. »Stora» is, inter alia, the owner of about one half of the richest iron-ore field of the central Swedish mining district — Grängesberg — and an equally large share of the mining fields at Dannemora, Norberg, Bispberg, etc. Managing Director E. Lundqvist.

15. *A. B. Bofors* derives its origin from a forge established at Bofors during the seventeenth century. The production here consists of pig-iron, rolled iron and steel, forgings, castings, guns, projectiles, motors etc. The managing Director is H. Th. Holm.

16. *A. B. Elektrolux*, Stockholm, was established in 1910 for the manufacture and export of electrical apparatus, chiefly vacuum cleaners, floorpolishers and refrigerators, etc. The A. B. Elektrolux Refrigerator, especially, has attracted great attention in the international market during the last year or two. The Managing Director is E. Aurell.

17. *Eriksbergs Mekaniska Verkstads Aktiebolag*, Göteborg. Shipyard with docks, engineering works and forges at Eriksberg on the island of Hisingen, Göteborg. The company builds and repairs cargo- and passenger steamers, manufactures Diesel and other engines, boilers, etc. The firm was founded in 1852 and became a limited company in 1876. Managing Director: G. Engberg.

18. *Svenska A. B. Gasaccumulator (AGA)*, established in 1909, originated in the A. B. Gasaccumulator which was established in 1904. The Company's productions embrace the manufacture of apparatus based on the inventions of Gustaf Dalén for the employment of dissolved acetylene as a means of illumination (AGA Light). The manufactures consist of gasaccumulators, automatic apparatus for illuminating buoys, beacons, lighthouses, lightships and aeronautical lights. Flashlight app. for railway, level crossing and traffic signals. Railway-car and locomotive lighting etc. Autogenous welding and cutting app. The Company has branch-works in several of the most important industrial countries of the world. Managing Director: Gustaf Dalén.

19. *Trafik A. B. Grängesberg—Oxelösund* was established in 1896 for the purpose of creating a fusion between the ironmines of Grängesberg and the railways over which the transport of the ore to the export harbour at Oxelösund takes place. In 1902 the Traffic Company took a lease of the mining works at Grängesberg; in 1904 the Company, with the assistance of foreign capital, purchased more than 90 % of the shares in the great Norrbotten (Lapland) Mining Companies and orefields at Gällivare, Kirunavaara, Luossavaara and other places. In 1907 the State came to an agreement with the Company, which made the former a partner in the mining operations in consideration of certain privileges conferred on the Company. The greatest amount of ore mined in one year at all the Company's orefields is 9.7 millions tons (1927). The Company undertakes in her own vessels the shipment of iron ore from the Swedish minefields. Managing Director: Gunnar Dillner.

20. *A. B. Götaverken*, Göteborg, which, to-day is the largest shipbuilding yard of Sweden, took its origin from the Engineering firm established by H. A. Keiller in 1841, which was

later on taken over by the Göteborgs Mekaniska Verkstad known, since 1917 as A. B. Götaverken. The Yard, which embraces an area of about 170,000 square yards, included large smith's workshops and shipbuilding beds, boiler-, machinery- and foundry shops, slips and a floating dry-dock. The Company's shipbuilding business has included the building, *inter alia*, of ironclads and destroyers for the Swedish fleet, and also ocean-going motor-ships. Among those persons who have contributed most to the success enjoyed by the firm may be mentioned: J. Keiller, senior (1860—1906), Dan Broström and H. G. Hammar, the present director of the firm.

21. *Huskvarna Vapenfabriks A. B.*, an establishment devoted to the manufacturing of small arms, sewing-machines, bicycles, motor cycles, household hardware and other cast iron goods. The small arms factory was established in 1689. Managing directors: G. Tham and Wilh. Göransson.

22. *Kockums Mekaniska Verkstads A. B.*, Malmö, a concern established in 1866, which took over engineering works founded in Malmö 1840 by F. H. Kockum. The Company owns a shipyard which is carried on in connection with the engineering works. In addition to merchant and warships with their machineries, diesel-motors, etc. the works turn out railway carriages, steel structural bridges, cranes, machineries for sugar making factories, Typhon-whistles, etc. The Managing Directors are: G. Ahlrot and F. H. Kockum.

23. *A. B. Lindholmen-Motala*, at Göteborg and at Motala: *Lindholmens Verkstad* (Engineering Works) at Lindholmen in Göteborg was founded in 1844 by T. V. Tranchell and taken over in 1858 by *Motala Mekaniska Verkstads A. B.* In 1894 it became a separate concern, *Lindholmens Verkstads A. B.*, but was again amalgamated with the Motala engineering firm in 1920, under the name of *A. B. Lindholmen-Motala. Lindholmens Verkstad* has at present one of the largest shipyards in the country. The firm builds steam- and motor-ships, manufactures engines and boilers and has in addition a large repairing department. A considerable number of the war-ships in the Swedish navy and the first Swedish trans-Atlantic liners have been built at Lindholmen. — *Motala Mekaniska Verkstads A. B.*, mentioned above, was founded in 1822 in connection with the building of the Göta Canal. This company controlled for many years, in addition to Lindholmen, the shipyards in Norrköping and Oscarshamn; subsequently this arrangement was discontinued, but in 1920 (see above) Lindholmen was again amalgamated with the Motala Company. The firm manufactures railway engines, bridges, installations for the

drying of timber, and various kinds of hardware. The Managing Director of the company is Captain Erik W. Sundblad.

24. *Nydqvist & Holm A. B.*, Trollhättan. One of the chief engineering enterprises of Sweden, was established in 1847 by J. M. Lindström, A. Nydqvist and C. O. Holm. The output consists chiefly of locomotives, railway wagons, hydraulic turbines, Diesel engines, steel and pig-iron castings etc. The firm's locomotives are well-known all over the world. Managing Director: Gunnar Dellner.

25. *Sandvikens Jernverks A. B.* at Sandviken near Gävle. Sandviken was established by G. F. Göransson in 1862 and, at the present time, is one of the largest iron- and steelworks in Sweden. The works embrace Blast furnaces, Bessemer furnaces, Martin furnaces, Electric furnaces, Rolling mills, Steam hammers, etc. The output consists of tubes; constructional steels; rock drill steels; tool steels; cold rolled steels, unhardened or hardened; drawn wire; steel belt conveyors; saws; main springs; etc. About 75 % of the output is exported. The Company has exerted the greatest care for the comfort and well-being of its workmen. Managing Director: K. F. Göransson.

26. *A. B. Separator,* was established 1883, first and foremost for the manufacture of the separator invented by G. de Laval. Later on it took over newer inventions and improvements by de Laval and other persons. For the marketing, and, partly too, for the manufacture of its machines abroad the Company has established affiliated companies in a number of countries. At exhibitions in various countries the Company has received more than 1,300 highest marks of distinction for its separators. The present Managing Director is Axel Wästfelt.

27. *A. B. Svenska Kullagerfabriken* (S. K. F.) — the well known Swedish Ball-bearing Manufacturing Company in Göteborg, was established in 1907 for the manufacture of a self-regulating ball-bearings. In order to satisfy its demand for steel the Company has purchased the Hofors Järnbruks A. B. For the manufacture of the ball-bearings there is employed the specially invented S. K. F.-steel, obtained after many experiments. For its foreign sales the Company has created an extensive organisation, with 12 plants and 45 affiliated companies have been established in a large number of countries everywhere in the world. The head is Director Björn Prytz.

28. *A. B. Svenska Metallverken* at Västerås. In 1902 a fusion took place of the Nordiska Metall A. B., at Västerås and the two metal works of Skultuna Bruk and Granefors Bruk into one common enterprise under the name of »Svenska Metallverkens Försäljnings A. B.» which, in 1907, was taken over by A. B.

Svenska Metallverken (called later on, Nya A. B. Svenska Metallverken) which Company in 1915 resumed the firm name A. B. Svenska Metallverken. The Company owns extremely modern factory plants with foundry, rolling mills, wire-drawing works, metal-pressing works, ammunition works, etc. The Company also carries on an extensive agricultural business and owns large sawmills. Managing Director: E. Falk.

29. *Telefonaktiebolaget L. M. Ericsson* established in 1918 originated in the A. B. Ericsson & Co., founded in 1876, this latter concern having been at a later date combined with the Stockholm Telephone Co. and the Allmänna Industribolaget, H. T. Cedergren. L. M. Ericsson's telephone apparatus are known all over the world. The Company's production consists of all kinds of telephone material, line material, electric cables and wires, telegraphic apparatus, electricity meters etc. The Company has affiliated manufacturing and operating companies as well as agencies all over the world. The greatest merit of the success enjoyed by the Company is due to the inventor, L. M. Ericsson, founder of the company, who died in 1927, and to the high standard of the Company's production. Managing Director: K. F. Wincrantz.

30. *Uddeholmsverken.* Under this name is comprised the multifarious business carried on by Uddeholms A. B. which was established in 1870, but which really originated in the iron engineering trade carried on at Uddeholm since the seventeenth century. Uddeholm is the owner — chiefly in eastern Värmland — of very extensive forest and agricultural land, ironmines etc. of a total area of more than 700,000 acres. The ironworks it possesses are those of Hagfors, Munkfors, Storfors and Nykroppa. The large wood-manufacturing, business of the Company is, at the present day, concentrated at the up-to-date works at Skogshall near Karlstad. Managing Director: E. U. P:son Troili.

Timber, Woodpulp and Paper Industries.

31. *Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags A. B.* (Bergslaget — »Stora»); see above No. 14.

32. *Billeruds A. B.*, Säffle, established in 1883, is one of the largest timber Companies in central Sweden. Besides forestry it carries on sawmills, pulp and paper manufacture etc. Headoffice at Säffle. Mills at Säffle, Slottsbron, Kyrkebyn, Gruvön, Stömne, Hillringsberg, Jössefors, Rämen and Torsby. Managing Director: Chr. Storjohann.

33. *J. A. Enhörnings Trävaru A. B.*, Sundsvall, was established in 1891 by J. A. Enhörning, and carries on a sawmills business and wood-

goods export. Mill for hot ground wet mechanical wood-pulp. Managing Director: Gust. Göranson.

34. *Fiskeby Fabriks A. B.* embraces papermills, woodpulp- and sulphite factories at Fiskeby, Skärblacka and Ljusfors. The paper production consists chiefly of cardboard and wrapping-paper. Managing Director: Ivar Nyström.

35. *Graningeverkens A. B.* obtained its articles of association in 1873 and carries on timber industry, ironworks and agriculture, combined with milling industry at Graninge, Forssa and Bollsta in Norrland. Managing Director: Gunnar Kjellgren.

36. *Holmens Bruks och Fabriks A. B.*, Norrköping, owes its origin to the industrial activity which, as early as during the seventeenth century, was carried on at the so-called Lax- and Kvarnholmarna in Norrköping. The business embraces: cotton spinning and weaving, dyeing works, papermills with woodpulp factories and an electric power-station in Norrköping. The Company also owns Hallsta Papermills in central Sweden which, at the present time, is the largest in Sweden, with a yearly production of 50,000 tons of paper, and pulp-grinding works, and sulphite and sulphate factories in various parts of the country. Managing Director: Carl Wahren.

37. *A. B. Iggesunds Bruk* embracing important ironworks, sulphite-, sulphate- and spirit factories, pulp-grinding mills and shipyards. The Company owns a considerable area of forestland and several sawmills, and is a shareholder in some large mines. Managing Director: Gunnar Sundblad.

38. *Korsnäs Sågverks A. B., Gävle,* established in 1855, runs large sawmills at Kastet near Gävle and at Karskär, sulphite and sulphate factories and one of the largest spirit distilleries in the country. The Korsnäs Sågverks A. B. possesses vast forest areas in Dalarna and southern Norrland. Managing Director: Wilhelm Ekman. Agents in U. S. A.: Paget Horton & Co. Inc., New York.

39. *Kramfors A. B.* a sawmill at Kramfors in Norrland, and has also sulphite- and sulphate works. Is one of the oldest and most important sawmills in Norrland. Managing Director: J. Mannerheim.

40. *Lessebo A. B.* Lessebo Mills were established in the seventeenth century. In 1719 they were granted a charter for the manufacture of paper. In 1896 the mills were purchased by the present Company. Rags are employed on a large scale as raw material for the machine-paper too and the product of the mills enjoy a great reputation. Its handmade, sized letterpaper is very celebrated. Managing Director: C. J. Malmros.

41. *Mo och Domsjö A. B.* carries on timber industry and agriculture at the Mo and Domsjö estates in Norrland. The founder was Frans Kempe who carried on a successful agitation for rational forestculture in Sweden based on scientific principles. Managing Director: Carl Kempe.

42. *Munksjö A. B.*, Jönköping, is a papermill with cellulose and sulphite factories at Munksjö in the town of Jönköping. It was founded in 1862 by J. E. Lundström and L. J. Hierta for the manufacture of yellow straw-paper and cardboard. In 1869 Hierta took over Lundström's shares and admitted K. O. Ljungqvist into partnership. In 1873 the latter became the sole proprietor and carried on the business with such success that it is now one of the largest of its kind in the north of Europe. Managing Director: A. Skeppstedt.

43. *J. H. Munktells Pappersfabriks A. B.*, Grycksbo. These papermills were established in 1740 by J. Munktell, and have ever since remained in the possession of successive members of the family Munktell. The existing Company was formed in 1887 and manufactures all kinds of paper, both coarse and fine. The filter-paper manufactured at Grycksbo is considered to be the best in the world. Director: William Nisser.

44. *Svanö A. B.* is a large Company in the Wood Pulp and Timber business. It owns a large Sulphite Pulp Mill and two sawmills. Managing Director: J. Haslum.

45. *Wifstavarfs Aktiebolag* has originated from the Wifsta shipbuilding Company founded at Sundsvall in 1799 for the purpose of carrying on ship-building and shipping trade. Since 1820 the timber-trade has been the chief business of the Company which owns vast areas of forest land in Norrland and large sulphite and sulphate mills at Wifstavarf. The Wifstavarfs Aktiebolag is at present one of the most important industrial concerns in the country. Managing Director: J. W. R. Lilliestråle.

Various Branches of Industry.

46. *Förenade Gummifabrikernas Aktiebolag*, Hälsingborg, is a large Company formed by the fusion of some of the leading factories in the branch, such as the rubber factories in Hälsingborg, Malmö and Viskafors. The Managing Director of the amalgamation is H. Dunker, formerly the head of the Hälsingborg Works.

47. *A. B. Kosta Glasbruk* was established in 1741—43 and is one of the largest glassworks in Sweden. The manufacture consists chiefly of crystal services, household- and decorative glass. Managing Director: S. Fogelberg.

48. *A. B. P. A. Norstedt & Söner,* Stockholm, Royal bookprinters and publishers. The firm was established in 1823 by Per Adolf Norstedt and his sons. The firm received the same year letters appointing it Printers to the King, and since that date it has taken over the business of several other printing and publishing firms. Its publishing business has been specially directed to the issue of works for the the State, scientific works, school publications, fiction and poetry. Managing Director: Conrad Carleson.

49. *Orrefors Bruks A. B.* The output consists of all kinds of glassware. During the last few decades the Orrefors Glass works have become one of the leading establishments in the country. Its art-glass (designed by the two artists Gate and Hald) has awakened great attention in the international market, *inter alia,* at the Paris Exhibition in 1925. Managing Director: J. H. Danius.

50. *Aktiebolaget Sveriges Litografiska Tryckerier* (»S. L. T.») Stockholm. This company is an amalgamation of 27 concerns engaged in printing and paper manufacture. The company executes all kinds of printing, blocks for illustrations, book-binding, and also manufactures office furniture and accessories. Managing Director: C. Ramström.

51. *Svenska Sockerfabriks A. B.* was established in 1907 as the result of a fusion between older Swedish sugarmaking companies. On its formation the Company became the owner of 6 refineries, 3 so-called mixed sugar-factories (refined and raw sugar works) and 15 raw-sugar factories with 3 glucose establishments. The manufacture embraces about $^{9}/_{10}$ of the entire sugar production of the country and employs about 300 staff-members and some 8,000 hands. Of this latter number about 2,000 are employed throughout the year, while the rest find work only during the raw-sugar compaign, as it is called, lasting from October to December. During the period 1907—16 the Director of the Company was C. Tranchell. At present the Managing Director is C. F. Tranchell. After the closing down or adaptation of certain factories, the company now owns 17 works producing raw sugar alone, 1 factory in which sugar is both extracted and refined, 3 sugar refineries and 3 fruit preserving factories.

52. *Stockholms Superfosfat A. B.,* Stockholm, is one of the largest businesses in the Swedish Chemical Industry. It manufactures manures, calcium cyanamide, calcium carbide, chlorates and perchlorates etc. The Managing Director of the Company is Carl Edlund.

53. *Svenska Tändsticks A. B.* (the Swedish Match Manufacturing Company), was established in 1917 and was formed by a fusion of Jönköpings and Vulcans Tändsticksfabriks A. B. and A. B. Förenade Svenska Tändsticksfabriker. The firm is incomparably

the largest enterprise of its kind in the world, and during the last few years the Company, partly with the help of foreign capital, has acquired a very extensive influence over the match industry in various countries so that, at the present time, more than one third of the total match-production of the world is under Swedish direction. At its Swedish and foreign factories the company produces 10 milliard boxes of matches which is at the rate of 30,000 matches per second. The skill with which this all-embracing, international business organization has been built up by the world-renowned Swedish financier, Ivar Kreuger and his partners, has assured the Company lasting control over all its most important markets, thereby further contributing to the future success of the Swedish match-industry. Managing Director: Ivar Kreuger.

Shipping Businesses etc.

54. *A. B. Svenska Amerikalinjen,* Göteborg, was established in 1914. Passenger- and freight traffic between Göteborg and New York—Halifax and vice versa by large passenger-vessels »Kungsholm», »Gripsholm» and »Drottningholm». Managing Director: Axel Carlander, vice managing director Vidar R. Olburs.

55. *Trafik A. B. Grängesberg—Oxelösund;* see above, No 19.

56. *Ångfartygs A. B. Göta Kanal,* Göteborg, carries on steamship passenger- and goods traffic between Göteborg and Stockholm, via the Göta Canal, a route which is well-known to tourists from abroad. Managing Director: Axel Jonsson J:r.

57. *Rederi A. B. Nordstjernan* (Johnson Line) was started in 1890 by the late Axel Johnson, a shipowner who may be said to have given fresh life to Swedish shipping. The regular lines of this company, one to Brazil/Argentine and another to Central America and the North Pacific, have opened new, large export fields for Swedish industries. The head of this shipping enterprise is Consul General Axel Ax:son Johnson, the son of the founder of the line.

58. *Svenska Ostasiatiska Kompaniet,* Göteborg, was established in 1907 and carries on cargo service with Straits Settlements, China, Japan and British India and vice versa. Managing Director: G. Borin.

59. *Stockholms Rederi A. B. Svea,* which was established in 1894, carries on, in addition to its cargo- and passenger trade with a large number of ports along the Swedish coasts, a lively traffic with Germany, England, Holland, Belgium, France and Finland. Managing Director: Hans Ericson.

60. *Rederi A. B. Svenska Lloyd,* Göteborg, is one of the leading shipping concerns in Sweden. Its steamers (passenger and cargo) trade

chiefly with England, Spain and Portugal, Italy and France. The Company's Managing Director is H. Metcalfe.

61. *Rederi A. B. Transatlantic* of Göteborg is one of the largest shipping companies of Sweden. Their vessels maintain regular services to Africa, Australia and North America. Managing Director: Gunnar Carlsson.

NOTEWORTHY ENDOWMENTS FOR SCIENTIFIC AND HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES.

62. *Nobelstiftelsen* (The Nobel Foundation). An institution established on the basis of Alfred Nobel's testamentary donation, 27 November 1895. According to the will, Nobel's entire fortune amounting to over 31 million Swedish Kronor, was to be employed as follows: the capital is to constitute a fund, the annual interest on which is to be divided into 5 prizes of equal amount to be given to those persons who during each past year »shall have done mankind the greatest service». The first prize is to be awarded to the one who shall have made »the most important discovery or invention» in *physics;* the second to the one who shall have made the most important »discovery or improvement» in *chemistry.* These two prizes are to be awarded by the Swedish Academy of Science. The third prize, which is to be awarded by *Karolinska Institutet* (the Medical Institute of Stockholm), is to reward the »most important discovery» in *physiology or medicine.* The fourth prize, to be awarded by the Swedish Academy, is to fall to the one who, in the realm of literature, shall have produced the »most distinguished work of an idealistic tendency». Finally, the so-called *Peace-prize* is to be awarded by the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) to the one who shall have laboured most or best for the »fraternization of nations and the abolition or diminution of standing armies, and the establishment and spreading of peace-congresses». In awarding the prizes, no consideration is to be paid to nationality. For each of the four Swedish sections a Nobel Committee of 3, 4 or 5 members is appointed to make the preliminary investigations necessary. For the same purpose and also for the promotion of scientific research in other ways, scientific institutions may be established; there exist at present two such institutions: the Nobel Institute of Physical Chemistry, erected by the Academy of Science, and the Nobel Institute of the Swedish Academy, with the Nobel Library.

63. *Knut och Alice Wallenbergs stiftelse.* This is a trust, founded in 1918 by Bank-Director K. A. Wallenberg and his wife, amount-

ing to about 25 million Swedish Kronor, for the purpose of promoting religious, social, scientific or other cultural aims, and for the assistance of commerce, industry and other sources of livelihood. Next to the Nobel fund, this is the largest donation made by any private Swede.

64. *Therèse och Johan Anderssons minne* is an endowment made in 1922 by Knut Andersson to *Karolinska Institutet* to perpetuate the memory of his parents. The fund is for the promotion of medical aims but must not be used to cover expenses which it is the duty of the State to pay.

INDEX.

N. B. A number preceded by »Ill.» within brackets after an entry in the index indicates that an illustration will be found on the opposite page. e. g. (Ill. 65).

Page

Åbo 41
Academy of Science 417
Academy, Swedish A. .. 443, 431
Adam of Bremen 25
Adelcrantz, Carl Fredrik .. 343
Adils, King of Sweden 12
Adlerbeth, Gudmund Göran.. 432
Adlercreutz, Carl Johan (Ill. 353) 361
Adlersparre, Georg .. 357, 361
Adolphus Frederick, King of Sweden (Ill. 337) 329, 331—333, 337
Aftonbladet 371, 434
Afzelius, Ivar 419
Agriculture 406
Ahlgren, Ernst, se Benedictsson, Victoria
Åland Islands 362, 376
Albert of Mecklenburg, King of Sweden ..... 70—75
Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg ..... 63—64, 69
Aldermen (råd) 230
Ale, King of Sweden 12
Alexander I, Emperor of Russia 360, 364, 370
Alexander Newski, Grand-Duke of Novgorod 40
Almén, Tore 419
Almquist, Carl Jonas Love (Ill. 432) 433
Alsnö castle 53

Page

Altmark, armistice in A., 1629 ..... 240, 269
Altranstädt, peace of A. 1706 299
Alvastra 33, 43
Älvsborg .... 122, 180, 213—214, 234
America 229
Andreae, Laurentius, see Laurentius.
Angantyr, King of Sweden .. 12
Angermannus, Abraham Andreae 186, 197
Ångström, Knut Johan 419
Anjala-League 350, 353
Anne of Habsburg 195
Ansgarius 27
Apostolic Succession 138
Arboga, riksdag in A. 1435 and 1436 ..... 83—84
Archimboldus 104
Armfelt, Gustaf Mauritz .. 356
Armfelt, Karl Gustav 310
Arrhenius, Svante 419
Atterbom, P. D. A. (Ill. 432) 432
Augustana Synod .... 425—426
Augustus, Elector of Saxony, King of Poland ..... 290, 293—298, 304
Austria 299, 365

Bagge, Jacob 171
Bailiff (fogde) 149

Page

Balfour, Gilbert 178
Banér, John (Johan) (Ill. 241) 219, 239, 254
Banér, Peter (Per) 219
bank notes 334
Bank of Sweden (Sveriges Riksbank), see Riksbank.
Bavaria 247
Bellman, Carl Mikaël (Ill. 336) 343, 430
Bender ..... 303—304
Benedictsson, Victoria (Ahlgren, Ernst) 436
Bengt Algotsson 68
Bengt, Duke of Finland 51
Benzelius, Eric, ... 340
Beowulf, song of 12
Berger, Henning 436
Bergh, Richard 420
Bergman, Bo 436
Bergman, Hjalmar 436
Bernadotte, Marshal, see Charles John XIV.
Bernhard of Weimar .... 239 253—254
Bielke, family (Ill. 273) 91
Bielke, Hogenskild 190, 195
Bielke, Ture 205
Birger Brosa of the Folkung family 34
Birger Magnusson (Birger Jarl) .... .. 35, 40, 49—51
Birger Magnusson, King of Sweden ..... 55—60
Birger Persson 67
St. Birgitta (Bridget) (Ill. 65) 66—68, 427—428
Birka 18, 27, 28
Björck, Oscar 420
Blanche of Namur, Queen of Sweden and Norway 68
Blekinge 263
Boberg, Ferdinand 420
Bohuslän 263
Bonde, Gustavus 277
Bonde, Karl Knutsson, see Karl Knutsson Bonde.

Page

boneage-people 2
Boström, Erik Gustaf (Ill. 369) 381, 394
Botvid 27
Brahe, Eric 200
Brahe, Nils 219, 239
Brahe, Peter (Per) 219, 277
Brandenburg 246, 279
Branting, Hjalmar (Ill. 387) 398, 400, 401
Brask, Hans .. 113, 128, 130, 135 138, 143
Bratt, Ivan 413
Braunsberg 240
Bremer, Fredrika 434
Bråvalla 13
Breda, Carl Fredrik von .. 343
Breitenfeld, battle of B. 1631 246
Bremen-Verden 257, 316
Bridgittines 67, 428
Brinell, J. 408
Brömsebro peace of B., 1645 256
bronze-age 5
Brunkeberg, battle of B. 1472 96
Brunkow, John von 59
Brunswick-Lüneburg 288
Burgomaster (borgmästare) .. 230
Burgundians 10
Bulgars 20
Bureus, Johannes 429
Bylina 21
Byzantine empire 18, 20

Cabinet 370, 379, 380, 389, 393
Camerarius, Ludvig 244
Canon Law 42
Canute, King of Denmark..... 16 17, 23
Carelia 17, 55
Carteret, John C., Lord Granville 316
Cassel, Gustav 419
Casteja, Charles Louis 328

Page
Catherine II, Empress of Russia 336, 347, 349, 353, 356, 357
Catherine, Birgitta's daughter 68
Catherine, Princess of Sweden 216
Catherine Jagiellonica, Queen of Sweden 169
Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg, Queen of Sweden 147
Catholic League..... 236, 245
Cedergren, Henrik Tore 410
Cederström, Gustaf 420
Celsius, Anders 340, 431
cellulose factores 411
chapters 42, 137
Charles V, Roman Emperor .. 143
Charles IX, King of Sweden (Ill. 176) 147, 158, 165, 188—215
Charles Gustavus X, King of Sweden (Ill. 256) 257, 259—264, 268
Charles XI, King of Sweden (Ill. 288) ..... 276—293
Charles XII, King of Sweden (Ill. 304) ..... 290—317
Charles XIII, King of Sweden and Norway (Ill. 353) 355, 361—362, 364, 366, 367, 370
Charles John XIV, King of Sweden and Norway (Ill. 368) ..... 363—364 365—367, 370—372, 379, 391
Charles XV, King of Sweden and Norway (Ill. 369) 377—379
Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp 318, 325
Charles Philip, Duke of Södermanland 216
Charles, Sverker's son, King of Sweden 34
Charles I, King of England 241—242
charter, city charters 54
Charter of 1617 223
Chazar state 18, 20

Page
chivalry 53
Christian (I) of Oldenburg, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Ill. 97) 89—94, 96—98
Christian II, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Ill. 97) 103—110, 112—119 143—146
Christian IV, King of Denmark .. 212—214, 234—235 238, 240, 242, 255
Christianization of Sweden .. 27
Christina, Queen of Sweden (Ill. 256) 251, 259, 268
Christina of Holstein, Queen of Sweden 194, 215
Christopher of Bavaria, King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway .....86—88
Christopher, Count of Oldenburg 145
Church Manuals .. 152, 184, 196
Church, Swedish Established Ch. ..... 422—423
cities 51, 96, 227
Clason, Isak Gustaf 420
Codes, see Laws and Codes.
Colleges (högskolor) 418
collegium 222
colonies 229
Columbus, Samuel 429
Communal administration .. 439
Constitution 65
— C. of 1634 ..... 222, 252 265—266, 392
— C. of 1719 319
— C. of 1720 319
— C. of 1772 346
— C. of 1809 .....369, 379
Council of the Realm (Riksrådet) .... 53, 65, 71, 87, 126 201—202, 221—224, 231, 266—267, 281, 319—321, 393
Courland 17
Credit establishments 414
Creutz, Gustaf Filip 430

Page

crusades 39, 40
Cromwell, Oliver 263

Dacke, Nils 155
Dahl, Michael 343
Dahlberg, Eric 262, 273
Dalarna ..... 54, 81, 111—112 140, 351
Dalén, Gustaf 409
Dalin, Olof von (Ill. 336) 336 429—430
Daljunker 140
Danegeld 16, 17
Danes 9
Danielsson, Ernst 410
Danielsson, Olof August 419
Danzig 90, 114
Davidsson, David 419
De Geer, Gerard 419
De Geer, Louis († 1652) (Ill. 257) 228, 256, 258
De Geer, Louis († 1896) (Ill. 369) 377, 380
De Geer, Louis (* 1854) 400
De la Gardie, James (Jakob) 210, 219, 252
De la Gardie, Magnus Gabriel 273, 277—279
De la Gardie, Pontus 181
De Laval, Gustaf .... 408—409
De la Vallée, Jean 274
Delaware 229
Denmark .. 23, 52, 58, 62—63 69—73, 74—117, 121, 144, 170 —173, 212—215, 255, 261— 264, 293, 304, 348—351, 376 —377
Dickens, Guy 330
dioceses 41
Ditmarschen 101
Dmitri the false 210
Douglas, family 273
Douglas, Robert 239
Drots (Steward) 53
Drottningholm (Ill. 272) .. 274
Duke 51, 56
Dvina, battle of D. 1700 297

Page

East Prussia 240
ecclesiastical courts 137
Ecumenic meeting in Stockholm 1925 405
Edén, Nils 400
Egil, King of Sweden 12
Ehrensvärd, Carl August 432
Ekelund, Vilhelm 436
Ekman, Carl Gustaf 401
Elbing 240
Eldh, Carl 420
Elizabeth, Empress of Russia 329
Elizabeth, Queen of England 161
Elliot, Hugh 351
emigration ..... 423—425
Engelbrekt ..... 81—86
engineering, electrical e. 410
England ..17, 45, 241, 258, 278 288, 307, 309, 316, 358, 365
Engström, Albert 419—420, 436
Eric XIV, King of Sweden (Ill. 176).. 147, 158, 164—179
Eric, Saint Eric, King of Sweden ..... 29, 33—34, 39
Eric, Canute's son, King of Sweden 34
Eric, Eric's son, King of Sweden 34
Eric Magnusson, Duke of Sweden ..... 56—60
Eric Magnusson, King of Sweden ..... 63, 68—69
Eric Menved, King of Denmark 58, 62
Eric of Pomerania, King of Sweden, Norway and Denmark ..... 76, 79—87
Eric, the Victorious, King of Sweden 23
Ericsberg 273
ericsgata 35
Erikskrönikan (Eric's Chronicle) 57, 428
Eriksson, Christian 420
Ericsson, John (Ill. 408) 408

Page
Ericsson, Lars Magnus .. 410, 456
Ericson, Nils 374
Ericus, Olai 97
Eskil 32
Estates of the Realm, (riksens ständer), see Riksdag.
Esthonia 17, 39, 168, 181 191, 286, 317
Eugen, Prince E. 420

Falsterbo 63
Falun 54, 150
Fänika 156
Feodor, Tsar of Russia 210
Ferdinand II, Emperor of Austria .....235—236
Fersen, Axel von, the elder (Ill. 321) 332
Fersen, Axel von, the younger (Ill. 353) 363
fiefs (län) 48
finances 149, 225, 269, 282 334, 345
Finland .... 17, 33, 39—40, 51, 88, 93, 99, 122, 165, 203, 304 317, 359—360, 362, 365
Finspong 228
Fleming, Herman 273, 277
Fleming, Klas..... 200, 203
Folkland 11
Folkung age 48
Folkung, family 34
folk-wanderings, age of 9
France .... 241, 254, 278, 280 327—330, 333, 348—349, 358 —365
Franzén, Frans Mikaël 432
Frederick I, King of Sweden 311, 332
Frederick I, King of Denmark 115, 144
Frederick II, King of Denmark .... 168, 170, 172—173
Frederick III, King of Denmark ..... 258, 261—263
Frederick IV, King of Denmark 293, 295

Page
Frederick II, the Great, King of Prussia 333, 347
Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp 293
Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg .. 260—261, 263 —264, 279
Frederick, Elector Palatine King of Bohemia 235
Fredrikshald 310
Fredrikshamn, peace of F., 1809 362
Fredriksten 310, 316
Freedom, Age of F., ..322, 339— 340
Freemasonry 356
freemen 44
Free trade 374, 380
Friars 43
Frö or Frey (Fricco) (Ill. 16) 25, 29
Fröding, Gustaf (Ill. 418) 419 435

Gadh, Hemming .. 100—102, 105, 108
Gaetas 12
Geijer, Erik Gustaf (Ill. 432) 312 433
Geijerstam, Gustaf af .. 419, 436
George I, King of England .. 307 316
George William, Elector of Brandenburg 239
German merchants 46, 50—51, 54
German settlement 51
Glacial period 2
Godunov, Boris 210
Göran (George) Persson .. 174—178
Göransson, Göran Fredrik .. 409
Görtz, George von (Ill. 305) 306 308—310, 316, 318, 325—326
Göta Canal 374, 416
Götaland 9
Göteborg (Gothenburg) 212 228, 351

Page

Gothenburg system 413
Gothic union 433
Goths (götar) ..... 8, 10—13
Gottland 23, 27, 45, 46, 54 69, 75, 86, 89, 142, 256
Grevefejden (The Count's War) 145
Grip, Bo Jonsson 72
Gripenstedt, Johan August.. 377
Grundtvig, N. F. 421
Grünewald, Isac 420
Grut, Torben..... 420
Guilds (skrå)..... 373
Gullstrand, Allvar 419
Gustavians 355
Gustavus Vasa (Gustavus I), King of Sweden (Ill. 112) 105 110—168
Gustavus Adolphus II, King of Sweden (Ill. 225) 213—255
Gustavus III, King of Sweden (Ill. 352) 337—355, 431
Gustavus Adolphus IV, King of Sweden (Ill. 353) 355—362
Gustavus V, King of Sweden (Ill. 386) 382, 389—390 400
Gustavus, Prince of Vasa .. 362
Gustavus Adolphus, Crown Prince of Sweden (Ill. 386)
Gyllenborg, Charles (Carl) 309
Gyllenborg, Gustaf Fredrik .. 430
Gyllenstjerna, family 274
Gyllenstjerna, Christine 106—108
Gyllenstjerna, Johan 279—280 287
gymnasiums (grammar schools) 226, 416

Haakon (V), King of Norway ..... 57, 59—60
Haakon (VI) Magnusson, King of Norway 63, 69—70 74
Haga 342
Hägerström, Axel 419
Hall, Peter Adolf 343

Page

Halland 82, 256, 263
hällristningar (cliff drawings) 6
Hallström, Per 419, 436
Halmstad, meetings in H. 1450 and 1483 ..... 89, 98
Hamburg 50
Hamburg-Bremen, the Archbishops of H.-B. 28, 41
Hammarskiöld, Lorenzo 432
Hammarskjöld, Hjalmar (Ill. 387) 400, 419
Hammarsten, Olof 419
Hanover 307, 316
Hanoverian alliance 327
Hans (John), King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway ..... 91, 98—103
Hansa and Hanseatic cities .. 71, 74—75, 80, 102 113—117
Hansson, Ola 436
härad (district) 37
Härjedalen 180, 256
Härn 26
Hasselberg, Per 420
Hedberg, Tor 436
Hedin, Sven 419
Hedvig Eleonora of Holstein-Gottorp, Queen of Sweden 260, 274, 276
Hedvig Sophia, Princess of Sweden 293
Heidenstam, Verner von (Ill. 418) 419, 435
Heilbronn, League of H. 1633 ..... 252—253
Helsingborg, battle of H. 1710 305
— peace of H. 1310 58
Henry IV, King of England 79
Henry VIII, King of England 145
Henry the Lion of Saxony 46
Heruls 9, 10, 12
Hierta, Lars Johan 434
Hildebrand, Emil 419

Page
Hildebrand, Hans 1, 419
Hird 23, 53
Hjortzberg, Olle 420
Hjärne, Harald .. 312—313, 419
Hjärne, Urban 429
Holovczyn, battle of H. 1708 301
Holstein 79—80, 85, 91, 108, 376
Holsteiners ..... 326—327
Holstein-Gottorp 288, 293, 296 305—316
Höpken, Anders Johan (Ill. 321)
Horn, Arvid (Ill. 321) 326
Horn, Ewart 219
Horn, Gustavus (Ill. 241).. 219 239, 251, 253
Horn, Klas 171
hundare (hundred) 37
husabyar 24
Hygilac 12

Ihre, Johan 431
Industri:
— chemical industry .. 411, 412
— match industry 412
— iron industry 323, 407
— mining industry 54, 150, 228
— steelindustry 229
— textile industry 412
Inge, King of Sweden 32
Ingeborg of Norway, Duchess of Sweden ..... 57, 59—61
Ingria 211, 295, 317
insurance companies 414
iron age, pre-Roman and Roman ..... 6—7
Ivan IV (the Terrible), Tsar of Russia .... 170, 209—210

Jacob Ulvsson 104
Jacobites 309
James I, King of England 211, 214, 236, 238
Jämtland 180, 256
Jankau, battle of J. 1645 256
jarl (earl) 34

Page
Jaroslav, Grand-Duke of Kiev 21
Järta, Hans 357
Jernkontoret (Iron Institute) 324, 408
Johannes Magni 128, 139 428
John III, King of Sweden (Ill. 176) 147, 158, 165, 179—193
John, Duke of Östergötland 207, 216, 220
John Casimir, King of Poland 259
John Casimir of Zweybrücken 216, 236
John Frederick, Elector of Saxony 246
John, Sverker's son, King of Sweden 34
Jonæ, Petrus, see Petrus Jonæ.
Jönsson, Ture, see Tre Rosor.
Jordanes 11
Josephson, Ernst 420
Jungner, Waldemar 410

Kallstenius, Gottfrid 420
Kalmar (Ill. 224) 45, 46, 76, 98 102, 213
Kalmar war 213
kansler (chancellor) 53
kanslipresident 326
Karin Månsdotter, Queen of Sweden ..... 176—179
Karl Knutsson Bonde, King of Sweden (Ill. 97).... 84—96
Karlberg 273
Karlfeldt, Erik Axel.... 419, 436
Karlskrona 285
Karlstad, treaty of K. 1905 382
Keksholm 210, 211
Kellgren, Johan Henrik 343, 431
Kettilmundsson, Matthias, see Matthias K.
Key, Ellen..... 419, 436
Kiel, peace of K. 1814 366
Kiev ..... 19—21
King, James 239

Page

Kirkholm, battle of K. 1605 209
kitchen-middens 2
Kliszow, battle of K. 1702 298
Knäred, peace in K. 1613 .. 214
knight service 53
Kniphausen, Dido von 239
Knut (Canute), Eric's son, King of Sweden 34
Koch, Axel 419
Königsmarck, Hans Kristoffer von 239, 256
Korff, Johan Albrecht von 330
Kreuger, Ivar (Ill. 408) 411, 450
Kronberg, Julius 420

Läckö 273
Lafrensen, Nils, the younger 343
Lagerbring, Sven 340, 431
Lagerlöf, Selma (Ill. 418) 419, 436
lagman (lawman) .... 35—37
län (see also fiefs) 223
landshövding 223
landskap 11, 24, 36, 48
lantmarskalk 224, 320
Lapps 9, 212
Larsson, Carl (Ill. 419) 420
Lasse Lucidor (Johansson, Lars) 429
Laurentius Andreae 130, 133 137, 139, 153—154
Laurentius Petri 138, 152, 184
Laurin, Carl G. 419
Laws and Codes.
— Laws of the different provinces 37, 427
— National laws 49
— Provincial codes (Ill. 33) 56
— Magnus Ericsson's Common Law and City code 65
League of Nations 404
leding .. 23, 24, 34, 37, 39, 53
Leffler, Anne Charlotte 436
Leijonhufvud, Margaret, Queen of Sweden 147
Leipzig, battle of L. 1813 365
Leopold, Carl Gustaf af 343, 432
Leslie, Alexander 239

Page

Leufsta 228
Lewenhaupt, Adam Ludvig 300, 302
Levertin, Oscar 435
Lidner, Bengt 432
Liljefors, Bruno 420
Liljencrantz, Johan 345
Lillie, Axel 239, 273
Lindman, Arvid (Ill. 387) 398—401
Ling, Per Henrik 433
Linköping 41, 43
— bloodshed of L. 1600 205
Linnæus (von Linné), Carolus (Carl) (Ill. 336) 340, 431
Liturgy of John III (Red book) 184, 196
Livonia 169, 181, 191, 236, 240 264, 286, 295, 317
Ljesna, battle of L. 1708 .. 301
Ljungström, Birger 409
Ljungström, Fredrik 409
Lödöse 122
Löfstad 273
Louis XIV, King of France 278
Louis the Pious, Roman Emperor 26, 27
Lovisa Ulrika, Queen of Sweden (Ill. 337) .. 331, 332, 430
Lübeck 46, 50, 102, 103, 110 113, 141, 144—146
Lund 41
— battle of L. 1676 280
— university of L. 278
Lundberg, Teodor 420
Lundeberg, Christian .. 398, 400
Lundström, Edvard 411
Lützen, battle of L., 1632 248

Magdeburg, siege of M. 1631 246
Magni, Johannes, see Johannes M.
Magni, Olaus, see Olaus M.
Magni, Petrus, see Petrus M.
Magnus, Duke of Östergötland 147, 158, 165

Page
Magnus Ericsson, King of Sweden .... 60—65, 68—70
Magnus Ladulås, King of Sweden ..... 55—55
Makalös 273
Malaspina, Germanico 198
Malmö, peace of M. 1512 .. 103
— meeting in M. 1524 121
Margaret, Queen of Sweden, Denmark and Norway (Ill. 97) ..... 72—79
Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, Queen of Sweden 216, 251
Marlborough 299
marskalk (marshal) 53
Märta of Denmark, Queen of Sweden 56
Martinus Olai 186
Matthias Kettilmundsson .. 60
Mazarin 258
Mazepa 301
Meadows, Philip 263
Mecklenburg 241, 246
Mehlen, Bernt von .. 142—143
Memel 240
Messenius, Johannes 226—227, 429
Methodism 417
Michael Romanov, Tsar of Russia 211
Milles, Carl 420
miners (bergsmän) 80
Miolnir 26
Mittag-Leffler, Gösta 419
monasteries 43
Montelius, Oscar 1, 419
Mora (in Dalarne) 112
Mora äng 35
Mornay, Charles de 178
Mörner, Carl Otto 363
Moss, convention of M. 1814 366

Napoleon I, Emperor of France .. 357, 358, 362—366
Napoleon III, Emperor of France 376

Page
Närke 54, 112, 165
national defence, (see also leding) 125, 285, 380
Natt och Dag, Svante Nilsson ..... 99—103
Narva 181
— battle of N. 1700 .. 296—297
Navigation Act 324
Nestor Chronicle ..... 18—19
Netherlands (Holland) 45, 144 228, 258, 264, 278—279, 288
neutrality, armed n. 348
New Netherlands 229
New Sweden 229
Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia 376
Nicholas Breakspear 43
Nilsson-Ehle, Herman 419
Njord (Northus) 26
Nobel, Alfred (Ill. 408) 412, 451
Nobel Institute 421
Nobility 34, 53, 72, 93, 166, 188 —190, 223, 225, 271, 274 282—284
Nordenfelt, Thorsten 408
Nordenflycht, Hedvig Charlotta 430
Nordenskjöld, Adolf Erik .. 419
Nördlingen, battle of N. 1634 253
Nordström, Karl 420
Nordström, Ludvig 436
Noreen, Adolf 419
Norrby, Severin 115
Norrköping 228
— riksdag in N. and pact of succession of N. 208
Norris, John 316
Norström, Vitalis 419
Norway (see also Union, Swedish-Norwegian .. 16, 23 57, 59, 310
Nöteborg, peace in N., 1323 61
November Treaty 1855 .. 377
Novgorod 19, 45, 211
Nuremberg 247

Page

Nyköping ..... 59—60
Nystad, peace of N. 1721 317

Odin (Wodan) 25, 26
Olaf, King of Norway and Denmark 72, 74
Olaf Haraldsson (Saint Olaf), King of Norway 23
Olaf Tryggvesson, King of Norway 23
Olai, Ericus, see Ericus O.
Olai, Martinus, see Martinus O.
Olaus Magnus (Ill. 177) 139, 428
Olaus Petri 130—133, 137—139 153—154, 428
Oldenburg, see Christopher, Count of Oldenburg.
Oleg 20
Oliva, treaty of O. 1660 .. 264
Olof Skötkonung, King of Sweden 23
Örebro 84
— meetings in Ö. 1529 and 1531 ..... 139, 141
— riksdag of Ö. 1810 364
Oscar I, King of Sweden and Norway ..... 371, 373 375—377, 379
Oscar II, King of Sweden and Norway (Ill. 369) 378, 380—382, 399
Ösel 256
Oslo, meeting in O. 1319 .. 61
Östberg, Ragnar 420
Östergötland (East Gothland) 12, 41, 165
Österling, Anders 436
Ostermann, Ivan Andrejevitj von 336
Ottar, King of Sweden 12
Owen, Samuel 373
Oxenstjerna, family 91
Oxenstjerna, Axel (Ill. 240) 217—218, 222—223, 229 243, 251—254, 274
Oxenstjerna, Bengt 88

Page

Oxenstjerna, Gabriel Bengtsson 219, 252
Oxenstjerna, Gabriel Gustavsson ..... 218—219, 252
Oxenstjerna, Johan ..90, 92—94
Oxenstjerna, Johan Gabriel 343 432
Oxenstjerna, Nils 88

Pact of Succession.
— of Västerås 1544 157
— of Norrköping 1604 208
Palace of the Nobility, see Riddarhuset.
Paper mills 411
Paris, university of P. 97
Parliamentarism 380
Party, political parties:
— Caps .. 328, 330, 335—339
— Hats .. 328, 330, 332—338
— Holsteiners ..... 326—327
— Court Party 332
— Agrarians 403
— Communists 403
— Farmer's party 394, 398
— Farmers' and Burghers' party 399, 403
— Liberal party .. 394, 398, 401 403
— Radical-Prohibitionist popular party 401, 403
— Party of the Right 398
— Social Democratic Party.. 394 397, 398, 403
Patkul, Johan Reinhold .... 286 293—295, 299
Paul I, Emperor of Russia 358
People's High Schools 421
Persson, Birger, see Birger P.
Persson, George (Göran), see Göran P.
Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia ..... 294—304
St. Petersburg 300
Peter's-pence 43
Petri, Laurentius, see Laurentius P.

Page

Petri, Olaus, see Olaus P.
Petrus de Dacia 427
Petrus Jonæ 186
Petrus Magni 138
Philippa of England, Queen of Sweden, Denmark and Norway 79
Pietism 417
Pillau 240
Piper, Karl (Ill. 305) .. 292, 302
Poland ... 169, 190—191, 209—211, 236, 238, 259, 264, 293 297
Polotsk 20
Poltava, battle of P. 1709 302
Pomerania (Vorpommern and Hinterpommern) 242—243 246, 257, 316, 359, 366
Possevino, Antonius 185
Prague 97, 256
Press 335, 340, 358, 371
principalities 51, 56, 164
Produktplakatet 324
Prokopios 10, 11
Protection 380
Prussia 307, 316, 333, 365
Prussian ports 269
Ptolemais 8
Pufendorf, Samuel 429
Puke, Eric 81, 86

Racoczy, George, Prince of Siebenbürgen 261
Railways 374, 415
Rantzau, Daniel 172
Reduction and reversion of property .. 77, 137, 272, 282
Reformation .... 129—139, 151
Rehnsköld, Karl Gustav (Ill. 305) 296, 302
Reval 168
Revolution of 1772 339
Revolution of 1809 361
Revolution, French r. of 1789 352, 354
Richelieu 236, 241, 245

Page

Riddarhuset (Palace of the Nobility) (Ill. 272).. 223, 274
Riddarhusordningen (Statutes of the House of the Nobility) of 1626 223
Riga 46, 236
Rijswijk, peace of R. 1697 289
Riksämbetsman .. 222, 252, 267
Riksamiral (Admiral) 252
Riksbank, Sveriges riksbank (State bank) .. 334, 370, 414
Riksdag (day of the Realm) 83, 99, 133, 230—233, 320—322, 369, 374—375, 392—404
Riksdrots (Chief Steward).. 252
Rikskansler (Chancellor) .. 252
Riksmarsk (Marshal) 252
Riksrådet, see Council of the Realm.
Riksskattmästare (Treasurer) 252
Roden 18, 19, 24, 34
Roeskilde, peace of R. 1658 263
Rosen, Adolf Eugène von .. 374
Rosen, Georg von..... 420
Roslin, Alexander 343
Rostov 20
Rudbeck, Olof, the elder (Ill. 257) 429
Rudbeckius, Johannes 226—227
Runeberg, Johan Ludvig .. 434
Runes and rune stones (Ill. 17) ..... 8, 16, 21—22, 427
Runius, Johan 429
Rurik 19
Russia 17—21, 40, 55, 61, 99 170, 180, 209—211, 294, 329 348—350, 352—353, 358, 365 383
Ruthwen, Archibald 178
Ruthwen, Patrick 239
Rydberg, Viktor 419, 434

Saint Severin 328
Sala 150
Salvius, Adler 219, 275
Sandler, Richard 401
sawmills 411

Page

Saxony 45, 246, 253, 293, 298
Scandinavia 9
Scandinavism ..... 375—376
Schück, Henrik 419
Schultzberg, Anselm 420
Secret Committee (Sekreta Utskottet) ..... 320—322
Serenius, Jakob 341
Serfs 45
Sergel, Johan Tobias 343
Shaw Foundation 421
Shuisky, Vassili 210
Siegbahn, Manne 419
Sigismund, King of Sweden and Poland (Ill. 176) 191—193 195, 198—211
Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland 169
Sigtuna 28, 41, 45
Siwertz, Sigfrid 419, 436
Sjögren, Vilhelm 419
Skade 26
Skåne .... 9, 62—64, 74, 263, 279
Skanör 63
Skara 41
Skenninge 42
Skilfingar 12
Skokloster 273
Sköld, Otte 420
Skytte, Johan 211, 219
Slesvig, city of S. 18, 45
— duchy of S. 85, 91
Småland 41, 155
Smolensk 20, 45
Snapphanar 280
Snoilsky, Carl .... 419, 434—435
Snorre Sturlasson 17
Stagnelius, Erik Johan 433
Stiernhielm, Georg 429
Stiernhöök, Johan 429
Strandberg, C. V. A., (Talis Qualis) 434
Sturzen-Becker, Oscar Patrik 434
Söderberg, Hjalmar 436
Söderblom, Nathan 405, 419
Söderköping, riksdag in S. 1595 200

Page

Södermanland .. 11, 27, 41, 165
Sophia Magdalena, Queen of Sweden 344
Sparre, Eric 190—191, 195, 205
Sprengtporten, Göran Magnus 349, 351
Sprengtporten, Jakob Magnus 339
Staaff, Karl (Ill. 387) .. 398, 400
Stångebro, battle at S. 1598 204
Stäket 164
Stanislav Leszczynski, King of Poland 298, 304
State bank, see Riksbank.
Statutes of the House of the Nobility, see Riddarhusordningen of 1626.
Stavenow, Ludvig 314, 419
Stenbock, Catherine, Queen of Sweden 147
Stenbock, Magnus (Ill. 305) 305
Stenkil, King of Sweden .. 32
Stettin 246, 257
— peace conference in S. 1570 180
Stiernhielm, Georg 219
Stjärnorp 273
Stockholm (Ill. 224, 320, 419) 51, 65, 75, 96, 100, 104, 106
— massacre of S. 1520 108
— riksdag in S. 1660 and 1719 ..... 277, 319
Stockholms Enskilda Bank .. 373
Stolbova, peace of S. 1617 .. 211
Stone age 3
Stralsund 242, 306
Strängnäs 41
— riksdag in S. 1523 115
Strindberg, August (Ill. 433) 419 435
Sture, Nils († 1527) 140
Sture, Nils († 1567) 175
Sture, Sten, the elder .... 92 95—101
Sture, Sten, the younger .... 103 —107, 110
Sture Age 95
Sture-murder 177
Styrbjörn 23

Page

Suiones (svear) .... 8, 11—13
Swartz, Carl 400
Sveaborg 360
Svealand 25, 41
Svedberg, The 419
Swedenborg, Emanuel (Ill. 336) 340, 417, 431
Svensksund, battle of S. 1790 353
Sverker, the elder, King of Sweden 33
Sverker, the younger, King of Sweden 34
Svethiud 11
Sydow, Oscar von 400

Tacitus 8
Tatars ..... 302—303
Tavastian tribes 40
Tegnér, Esaias, the elder (Ill. 432 433
Tegnér, Esaias, the younger.. 419
Tengbom, Ivar 420
Tessin, Charles Gustavus (Ill. 321) .... 330, 331—332, 430
Tessin, Nicodemus, the elder 274, 330
Tessin, Nicodemus, the younger 330
Teutonic Order 75, 168
Things 24, 35—39, 49—50, 125
Thyrén, Johan 419
Tilly 245
Tilsit, treaty of T. 1807 .. 359
timber trade 410
Tinglid 17
Thorild, Thomas 432
Thor 25, 26, 29
Three Crowns 180
Thule 11
Toll, Johan Kristofer 339
Tönning, siege of T. 1713 .. 305
Torgils Knutsson .....55—58
torp (farm of a settler) .. 44
Torstensson, Leonard (Ill. 241)..... 239, 255—256
Tott, family 91, 93

Page

Tott, Åke 93
Tott, Axel 93
Tott, Eric 90, 93, 95
Tott, Ivar 93, 95, 99
Tott, Olof 93
town council 54
townships 45
Trades Unions 397
trading companies 229
Tre Rosor, Ture Jönsson 113, 134 141, 143
Trolle, Eric 103
Trolle, Gustavus 103—109, 128 143, 146
Trondhjem's län 263, 264
Trygger, Ernst..... 398, 401
Tuna 112
Ture Jönsson, see Tre Rosor.
Turkey ..... 300—304

Ukraine 301
Ull 26
Ulrica Eleonora the elder, Queen of Sweden 287
Ulrica Eleonora the younger, Queen of Sweden ..... 316 318—319
Ulvhild, Queen of Sweden .. 33
Ulvsson, Jacob, see Jacob U.
unemployment policy
Union of Kalmar 76, 88
Union, Swedish-Norwegian .. 61 89, 366—367, 381—382, 399—400
United States of North America ..... 349, 423—425
Universities..... 97, 418
Uppland.. 11, 35, 41, 56, 81, 91
Uppsala (Ill. 48) 12, 29, 41, 42
—temple at U. (Ill. 16) 25, 32—33, 41
— university of U. 97, 197, 226
— meeting in U. (Uppsala möte) 1593 ..... 196—201
— riksdag in U. 1654 268
Uppsala öd 24, 39

Page

Vadstena (Ill. 49, 113) 67—68, 79, 82
Valdemar, King of Sweden 35, 49, 51—52
Valdemar Atterdag, King of Denmark .. 63—64, 69, 72
Valdemar Magnusson, Duke of Finland .....56—59
Wallin, Johan Olof 434
Vandals 10
Vänngarn 273
Varanger Fjord 376
Varangians (Varyag) .. 18—21
Värmland 165
Varnhem 43
Vasa, family 91
Vasa, John, Krister's son .. 110
Vasa, Kettil 92, 110
Vasa, Krister 84, 86, 110
Vasa-style 151
Västergötland (West Gothland) 12, 28, 41, 141
Västerås 41, 112
— riksdag in V. 1527 (recess and ordinantia of V.) 133—138
— pact of succession of V. 1544 157
Västmanland 11, 41, 54, 81
Växiö 41
Vendel (Ill. 9)..... 11
Verden 257
Viborg 55, 317
Victual Brothers 75
Vienna, congress of V. 1814 367
Viking age 14
Viking ships 15
village community 44
Virdar 12
Visby (Ill. 64) .. 46, 54, 69, 89
Visingsö castle 34
Wivallius, Lars 428
Wifsta Varv 373
Vladimir the Great, Grand-Duke of Kiev 21

Page

Vladislav, King of Poland .. 210, 259
Vreta (Ill 49) 43

Wahlman, Lars 420
Wallenberg, André Oscar 373, 415, 440
Wallenberg, Knut (Ill. 408) 441, 451
Wallenberg Institute 421
Wallenstein .... 240—242, 245, 247—248, 253
Walloon immigration 229
War, American War of Independence 347
War of the Austrian succession 329
War, Crimean W. 376
War, Northern Seven Years' War 173
War, Seven Years' W. 333
War, Thirty Years' War .. 235
Warsaw, battle of W. 1656.. 261
waterpower ..... 413—414
Wenström, Jonas 410
Wertmüller, Adolf Ulrik .. 343
Westman, Carl 420
Westphalia, peace of W. 1648 256
Whitelocke, Bulstrode 258
Wicksell, Knut 419
Wilhelmina of Baden, Queen of Sweden 358
William III of Orange, King of England 288
William of Sabina 42
Wingqvist, Sven 409
Wismar 257
Wittstock, battle of W. 1636, 254
Wrangel, Karl Gustav (Ill. 241)..... 256, 262, 264, 273
Wullenwever, Jörgen .. 145—146

Ynglingar (Yngling dynasty) 12, 29
Ynglingatal 12

Zorn, Anders (Ill. 419) 420

STOCKHOLM
Kungl. Boktryckeriet
P. A. Norstedt & Söner
1929

KU-995-173